

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY
OF THE
VERBS OF EXISTENCE IN IRISH

PRESENTED AS A DISSERTATION FOR
THE DOCTORATE

IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY

OF THE

ALBERT-LUDWIG UNIVERSITY OF FREIBURG i. Br.

BY

TOMÁS Ó MÁILLE,

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- ACG=Amhráin Chlainne Gaedheal, ed. M. and T. Ó Máille.
 Archiv=Archiv für Celtische Lexicographie, ed. Stokes & K. Meyer.
 AS=Acallam na Senórach, ed. Stokes, *Irische Texte* IV.
 AU=Annals of Ulster, ed. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy.
 BB=Book of Ballymote.
 CGG=Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh, ed. Todd.
 CZ=Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, ed. K. Meyer and L. C. Stern.
 Dá Derga=Togal Bruidne Dá Derga, ed. Stokes.
 FA=Fís Adamnáin, ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte* I.
 FéI=Féilire Oengusse, ed. Stokes.
 Fier=The Irish version of Fierabras, ed. Stokes, *Revue Celtique* XIX.
 LAU=Ó Máille. The Language of the Annals of Ulster.
 LBr=Leabhar Breac.
 LL=Leabhar Laighneach (The Book of Leinster).
 LU=Leabhar na h-Uidhre.
 Pedersen=Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen.
 PH=The Passions and Homilies from the Leabhar Breac, ed. Atkinson.
 Quiggin=A Dialect of Donegal.
 SC=Serglige Conculaind, *Irische Texte*, I.
 SR=Saltair na Rann, ed. Stokes.
 Thes=Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, ed. Stokes and Strachan.
 Thurneysen=Handbuch des Altirischen.
 Trip. Life=Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, ed. Stokes.
 TriBB=Keating's Three Shafts of Death, ed. Atkinson.
 Usn.=Longes mac n-Usnig, *Irische Texte*, I.
 Wi.=Windisch, *Irische Texte* mit Wörterbuch.
 YBL=Yellow Book of Lecan.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE VERBS OF EXISTENCE IN IRISH.

§ 1. The subject of the following dissertation is the investigation of the development of the forms of the Substantive Verb and Copula from Old to Middle Irish and a comparison with the modern forms, together with a discussion of the syntactic changes which took place during the same period.

I have treated the subject in the following order :

- I.—The development of the forms of the copula and substantive verb from Old to Middle Irish.
- II.—The use of the adjective with the substantive verb.
- III.—The development of the phrase *atá sé ina fhear*.

CHAP. I.

THE FORMS OF THE COPULA AND SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

§ 2. As the basis of my investigations I have made use of the following four principal sources :

1. **The Würzburg, St. Gall, and Milan Glosses** written (approximately) 750-820 A.D.

2. **The Saltair na Rann**, written¹ 987 (v. ll. 2337-2635).

3. **The Passions and Homilies** from the *Leabhar Breac*,² written in the second half, or towards the end of the 11th century. This date can be assigned to the text with tolerable certainty in view of the condition of the compound verbs, such as *dorairngir* 3498, 3567, of the dative plural of the adjective, and of the infixed pronoun.

4. **The Acallam na Senórach**,³ a text written about the middle of the 12th century.

¹ Cf. also AU 986 (=987), 994.

² Ed. Atkinson, Dublin.

³ Ed. Stokes, Ir. Texte IV.

The following linguistic facts point to the first half or middle of the 12th century as the approximate date of the latter text :

a. It has commonly accusative *n-* This becomes irregular in AU after 1000 A.D. though it is much longer preserved in Mid. Ir.

b. It has the old equatives in *-thir*, e.g., *dergithir* 6636, *duibithir glaisithir* 6637, in the Franciscan copy.

c. The condition of the forms of *indaas*, 'than,' e.g., *is ferr inté atá ar do ghualainn innúsa* 2363 'than I.' *duine budh fherr anás* 2034, but *ferr é . . iná thusa* 2365, *innai-siu* 2372, *inait* 2540.

d. The 3 pl. of the *s-* perfect regularly ends in *-sat*, as *rucsat*, *ro iadsat* 2049, etc. The *-adar* ending in these verbs has begun in AU at 1041 A.D.

e. The passive pl. in *-it* : *ro luathaigit láma lind 7 ro bailcit beimenna 7 ro cruadaigit craidida* 6492. This seems to give a rough approximation of the date, as AU has these forms from 1014 to 1170, and *romarbait* 1187 (*romarbadh*, R).

f. Other circumstances such as the fall of *-ib* of the dative plural of the adjective, the use of the nominative plural *fir* for the accusative 976, if not due to the MSS., the independent pronoun, the nominative of the article, e.g. *int-ór* for *inn ór* 5872, etc., show that the text could not have been written before 1100. Judging by the condition of the infixed pronoun, the verbal forms, and the forms of the substantive verb and copula, it must be a generation, at least, later than the Passions and Homilies.

If the reference to Mainistir Droichit Átha, line 53, is in the body of the text, it cannot have been written before 1142, in which year the monastery was founded.¹ See Meyer, *Fianaighecht*, p. XXXI, Stokes, Notes, p. 273 and cf. the account of the consecration of the monastery AU 1157 and FM, the same year.

§ 3. In the following, I make use of the collections of Strachan in his papers on the Substantive Verbs and the Verbal system of *Saltair na Rann* in the Transactions of the Philological Society, and of Atkinson's vocabulary to the Passions and Homilies

¹ The whole trend of the story which describes the break up of an earlier order of things would point to the post-Invasion period. Cf. names like *Teprojáne*, etc., 229, 2774. But this would be too late for the language of the text. The reference in the Dindsenchas is also against this. Some of the poetry is probably older than the prose, but not much. Cf. poem, line 446, with the same poem in LL 206a.

from the *Leabhar Breac*. These are compared with the forms of *Acallam na Senórach* and with the more important forms of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick,¹ *Togal Bruidne Dá Derga* and of various Old and early Middle Irish texts. For early Modern Irish, I instance the forms of Keating and for Modern Irish those in spoken use.

The syntax of the substantive verb and copula is dealt with in Chapters II. and III.

THE COPULA.

§ 5.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

Sg 1. Gl.² *am irlam* Wb 1^b9; *am fír-israhelíte* 23^d20, *am slán* Sg 140^b3 (=sanus sum) *ní-m-tha láam* Wb 12^a21, *níta chumme se* Wb 20^c25, *cota-beu* Ml 44^e1, *amal no-n-da* Wb 9^b4 Cf. *nída coimsech mo soiri* Trip. L. 252, 14, *nimthá duit, ol in Dagda* LL 246^a5.

SR :³ *am scíth* 3099, *ciam toebnocht* 1540, *nimdana* 2069 'I am not bold,' *nídam-snímach* 2382.

PH : (a) *isam urlam-sa* 596, *isam nemchinntach-sa* o .. 3282 (β) *is rig me* 2712, *is nemurchoitech* 2843.

AS : (a) *am eoluch-sa* 1582 (Li. p.³), *am comhaes* 1382 (Li. p.) (2 inst.), *isam senóir* 3523 (Li. p.), *isam eolach* 2546 (6 inst.) (β) *is cumachtach missi issin baile* 4191, *is slemain missi* 7223, γ *damna ollaman mé féin* 3353, (γ) *Bran misi* 877.

Neg. *ní ben mé* 6380.

Sg. 2. Gl. : *at firian-su* Ml 36^a32, *at fechem dom* Wb 32^a21, *air-it*⁴

¹ As regards the date of this text, it contains a reference to an individual who died in 897, and possibly to one who died in 936. Cf. Stokes, Introduction, p. lxiv. It has, however, such early forms as the dative plural of the article in *-ib* which occurs for the last time in AU at 892. Cf. LAU, pp. 123, 125.

² For fuller lists, cf. Strachan, Subst. Verb. Trans. Phil. Soc. 1899-02.

³ Li. stands for the Book of Lismore version; p. in these cases stands for 'poetry.'

⁴ Cf. Strachan, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1895-98; Thurneysen, Handbuch § 772 *isam aithrech* 7789 probably contains affixed pron. Cf. Thurneysen § 426.

MI 55^d11, *ce nita chumgabtha-siu* MI 84^c3, *annu-n-da chocubaid-siu* MI 58^b6.

Cf. *massat fissid* Dá Derga¹ 50.

SR: *at gliccu* 1147, *ar it fiadu* 7800.

PH. *at firen* 794, *at mallachda-su* 2328, *isat fer anorach* 707, *cid at fir-Dhia* 163, *masat mac De* 4708, *indat sochenel* 695. (β) *is cristaige thu; is rig thusu* 2711.

AS: (α) *corsat nocht* 4444, *inat eolach* 1581.

(β) *lennan dam thusa* 6368.

(γ) *cia thusa* 3642, cf. *cuich thusa* 7295.

Sg. 3. Gl.: *is follus* Wb 1^a4, *is athir-som* Wb 2^c11, *is din chorp in ball* Wb 22^c18, *is snisni ata boues* Wb 10^d7, *is lanchiall indib chenae* Sg 140^b3. *ní na persan a teclim act is* Wb 1^d1, *hore ní tri sonirti* Wb 10^c3, *in sí a meit* Wb 5^b11.

Rel. *intí as hénirt hiress* Wb 6^b9, *ithé aschorp . . . ind noib as chorp* Wb 21^a15, (g.) *intí asa ainm bis* MI 2^c3, *an-as maith* Wb 6^b18, *in deni as mbuidigthi* Wb 62^c5.

Neg. *intí nád imdibthe* Wb 1^d15, *amal nát anse* Wb 17^c11, *nadchoir* MI 37^a8, *nant hæ rocrochsath* MI 24^d4. *huare nach maith leu* MI 138^c9, *onach ase* Sg 104^b4. *innach cuman lib* Wb 26^a9, *conid hinunn folad duib* Sg 9^a15, *innid eula nech* MI 42^c4, *condid diib* Wb 24^c14. *diandid nomen* H. Sg 100^b1, *diant ainm* Wb 26^a5, *cesu thréde* Wb 21^d13, *massu made* Wb 13^a34.

[Cf. *conid hé ind firsoillsi hé triasa rosoillsiged* Trip. 6, 17; *indala hai is dub* Dá Derga, p. 126; *is maith in ldech Mac Cecht* ib. 77, *isí orcain tuc a áin fen dosom*² ib. 23].

SR: *is mor ind rún* 3335, *is tú Jacob* 2876, *uair is mac diles* 1964, *ní sinn rogab* 1733, *conid crannchor roscóraig* 5127, *manid gau* 2866, *dianid ainm* 110, etc., *dian ainm* 6112. After *intan*: *tan is tussa rogni* 6147.

Rel. *ní as sia* 6031, *nech assa* ('whose is') *flesc* 4485, *massu thú ind Eua* 1189.

PH: *is maith lind* 23, *is borb he* 727, *is mise* 1745. *nit cara do C. he* 2816, *nocon é in cotlad* 3032, *conid nem-geinnt*

¹ Togal Bruidne Dá Derga, ed. Stokes. The numbers refer to the pages.

² 'plunder was what his own impulse gave him.' leg. áinsén 'ill-luck' (Strachan).

he 240, *atbert gurab inand* 7690 (cf. *aderait gurab droch duine* 7682). *dianad ainm* 937, etc., *dianad erlam* 7874, *cia airm inad sháil* 5029.

Rel. *in rig as frecnairc* 4147, *as co laind as taburtha* 6030, *anas duiltadach* 7298, *in bannscal is a* ('whose is') *mac* 1354.

AS : *issé sin ciall* 3326, *is mé in fer dobhí* 3547, *is maith hí* 6405, 7 *as cuma* 6031, *an tussa in ingen* 6398, "is mé" 6399, *ní crodh cas* 817 (p), *ní cora duit* 5974, *nochon é* 7080, *conid hí sin étail* 4121, *conid tusa* 6158, *conad de* 1240, *is fír cora mé* 4208, *gurab ris ata* 1074, *lith nach gann* 2518, *cia dianad muintir* 1949, *ingen dan comainm* C. 3837, *fled dara buidecha*¹ 4604, *is uathad dar eoluch í* 3594, *massu thusa in t'oclach* 5970, *massa maith le Dia* 4120, *máse* 580.

Rel. *adhbúr is ferr* 5817, *ca tir as chomnessa dóib* 5961, *cid aschóir* 6925, *cia as chora* 2784, *fer asa sleg sea* 5330.

Mod. : *is* for all persons : *is mé*, *is é*, *is sibh*, *is iat*, etc.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *ammi irlaim* Wb 4^b21, *ammi óin chorp hí Crist* 12^a12, *ammin eulig* 14^d28; *annu-n-dan deeth-ni* Ml 120^b3. *nidan chumachtig* Wb 14^c41 *condan firianichthi* Wb 2^d14. *nu-n-dem* Cambr. 37^d. *nitam toirsech* Wb 15^b21 (leg. *toirsich* ?).

Cf. *ciámmín bí amin mairb* Dá Derga 31.

SR : *ar troig* 7896, *dar slana* 3612, *ni-dar glain* 1609, *ni-darn-idain* 3626.

PH : (a) No instance. (β) *is erlam sinde* 1042, *condat dee sinne* 2069, cf. *cenel togaide sinne* 1703, *tuicfe-siu cen furech sinne conid fir-epertaig 'nar ndescipl-* do Christ 1843, *fúismimit annsin conid 'nar mec don Choimdid* 7869.

AS : (a) No instance. (β) *tri meic Uair sind* 6152.

Pl. 2. Gl. : *adib mairb* Wb 3^b6, *adib ellachtí* 22^a24, *adib doine* 22^a30, *ar idib maithi* Wb 16^b9; *amal no-n-dad maicc* Wb 27^b16, *ce notad maic-si* 33^b8, *nitad lib fésin* Wb 9^d11.

Cf. *ar itib ingena* Trip. L. 102, 9; *dáig abtar liá andúsa* Dá Derga 38.

¹ Notice comparative of this word. Cf. *uaibrecha* 356.

SR : (a) *atib troig* 7986, *ni-for-gliccu* 1235, *ni-forn-inlliuchtach* 1238, *ni bar-troig* 3641. (β) No instance.

PH : (a) *cid ar n-atáuar anchretmig-si* 1752; *atabar glana-si* 5262, cf. 5264.

(β) *condat adbartnaighi-sin* 1795; *ni huile isat glana sib* 5263.

AS : (γ) No instance. (β) *ni tairisse le Fiannaib sib-se* 6106. *is fir sib-se* 7486.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *it moirb in boill* Wb 11^d11, *it carit dom-sa* 5^c7; *huaire ithé atá huaislem* Ml 116^a11, (rel.) *it hé ata mundus* Wb 5^a14, *atá n-ili* 12^a11, *an-at-n-acailsi* Ml 48^a10.

Neg. *nitat cosmuli* Wb 9^b17, *nidat chummai* Ml 115^b3, *nidat huli it maicc* Wb 4^c6, *indat mbriathra* Ml 44^b9, *indat Iudei* Wb 5^b34, *ind aimser indat sláin* Ml 76^a6, *cetu chummascthai* Sg 62^a2, *matu hé ata orpamin* Wb 2^c14.

Cf. *it ili* Dá Derga 50; *cidat crechtaig ib.* 70, *nidat bána ib.* 149, *trí brathir iat* 113.

SR : *it cosmaile* 7277, *hit imsláin* 194, (neg.) *nidat soirchi* 64, cf. 1571, 1611, etc., *condat cōra* 296, *indat glain*, 'are they pure,' 6176, *cidat ěcsamla* 7277, *ciat serba* 4071. Cf. *hitē remra* 364.

(Cf. *isiat sain* T. Ferbe 527, *isiat térnatar ib.* 568, *isat bána do bassa, ib.* 711).

PH : *at fira do briathra* 794, *ité inso* 964, *isat lána do bóide* 5876, *nidat dee sin itir* 2353, *nidat fira na scela sin* 2688. *condat firdee iat* 736, *ni hiat chomdidnus* 3392.

Rel. : *na' rig atta dīlsi do chraes* 4189, *na droch-dóine atta dīlsi da cech ulc* 4191, *na súalchi atta airegda and* 4622, but *gé tát gneti as trumma* 7422.

(β) *is iat usci* 5865 *isiat a scela* 360, cf. 435, 5859, 6013, *ni sine a chach iat* 1971, *ni hiat ro-adair* 2634, *aderait conid Iudaide iat* 2676.

AS : (a) *at casa finna* 797 (Li. p. one inst.), *nidat glasa* 797 (Li. p.) *nídat cenna* 809, (Li. p.) *nírsat carait fa deredh iat* 1377. (β) *iss iat ata* 3412, 7 *dimbuan . . iat* 3909, *is énlaithe . . iat* 6288, *is misdi óig Yle* 4575.

Rel. (β) *is siat sin cethrar as díle* 2788, *is iat is comdine dam* 4442, etc.

REMARKS.

§ 6. A comparison of the above forms shows that alongside of the 1 sg. *am* of the Glosses *isam* is found in SR which has further developed to *is . . . me* in PH, probably three-quarters of a century later. In AS, there are beside *isam*, *is . . . me*, two instances in the poetry of the older form *am* which had probably gone out of the spoken language a hundred years before the poem was written.

§ 7. We find, in AS, several instances of the construction *Falartach mac Ferghusa misi* (cf. 877, etc.) for older *atomchomnaic-sa* (cf. § 69) which was common in early Middle Irish, cf. *Étain . . . a sidib atomcomnaic* Tochm. Et. (Wi. I, 120), *Setanta mac Sualtain atomchomnaic-se* LU Táin (Strachan, p. 4), where YBL has *atomcomainm-sea*. The latter seems also to have been a real form and not a mistake of the MS.; cf. *carsat comainm thusa* 4205, (3490) 'what is your name,' for *ca comainm tusa* 4183 later *cia th'ainm-siu*, Mod. Ir. *cia h'ainm thú*. Similarly, *cia thusa* AS 3642 for the (artificial?) *cia hé nu-n-dixnaigther-su* of the Glosses (MI 75^c9). The meaning of the forms of *atomchomnaic* must have been forgotten by the time of PH, judging by the way they are used in this text—e.g., *cait hi cuindigfem ata-bar-comnaic* 1536, 'Where shall we seek you?' *in leth togairmfe in coimdiu, Isu Crīst ata-n-comnaic* 1838 (ib.), 'Jesus Christ who is present,' 'who is with us.' It can hardly mean 'who we are.' For another peculiar use, cf. *dogairet inna huile Éireннаigh atotchomnaicc*, Trip. Life 28, 8, beside *deochan atacomnaic*,¹ 'a deacon was he,' ib. 8, 6. *Cuich* from *coich*, 'whose,' seems to have lost its original meaning and to have become equal to 'who is,' 'who art,' as may be inferred from the examples—e.g., *cuich thusa* 7295. But cf. *coich thusa* SC (Wi. § 12). In the phrase, *cuich in macaemh* 1687, it has probably its original meaning; but it may here be compared to the phrase *cia leis thú* 'whose child are you,' used in speaking to children.

§ 8. The O. Ir. *nita* 'I am not' becomes *nidam* (*snímach*) SR. An intermediate form is *nimda saithech* LU 60^b18 for which YBL has *nidam saithech*, *nimda macc* LU 62^a37, *nidam macc* YBL. Of *nimda* we have probably the origin in O. Ir. in Wb 12^a21 *hóre*

¹ Equals Mod. Ir. *a bhí ann*.

*nimtha laám*¹ 'because I am not hand.' With this latter form we should compare Wb 8^d24 *nimþtha firion ara chuitside*, 'I am not righteous as to it' (or 'as far as that goes'). *Nidam* as it stands, however, seems to be a contamination of *nita* and *am* or an adding of the affixed pronoun to *nita*, as in the first and second persons plural. There is no instance of the form in PH, and it has disappeared in AS. The Tripartite Life preserves a fairly late instance of the O. Ir. form *nida*. In *Dá Derga* *nimthá* has its original meaning of 'have,' e.g., *nimthá-sa a samail*, p. 46, cf. 54; but SC (Wi. I, 209) *nimtha maith*, 'I am not good.'

§ 9. *Diandid* (*ainm*), *diant ainm* of the Glosses have become in SR *dianid ainm*, *dian ainm*, further *dianad ainm* PH and *dianad*, *dan* (*comainm*) AS, which latter form, *dan*, is giving place to *dara*, *dar*. We may compare the change of (*maní*), *muna* to *mur*² in Mid. Ir., but the form of the perfect *darab* may have influenced the development. The subjunctive *corub* is creeping into the indicative both in PH and AS—e.g., *corub rissin aderar* AS 7771, cf. *aderait gurab droch duine* PH 7682, otherwise *conid*. Cf. Keating, 7 *gurab eadh is leigheas di* Tri BB 214, and generally in Mod. Ir. In spoken Irish, *gurb* is used before a vowel, *gur* before a consonant, in present indicative.

Is and *as* are confused for the relative in AS, and, after such phrases as (*in*)*tan*, from SR onward. *As* is used for *is* in PH. The relative *as* still aspirates in AS, *as chomnessa* 5961.

§ 10. In the plural, great changes took place from O. Ir. to the time of SR. The O. Ir. 1 pl. *nidan* became *nidar n-* in SR. As is well known, the infixed pronouns of the 1 and 2 plural became *arn-*, *barn-* in Middle Irish.³ The endings of *condan*, *nidan*, also those of 1 and 2 sg., which came before the accent resembled the infixed pronoun, which was also followed by the accent, and on that analogy *nidan* became *nidarn*. This spread to the positive forms and gave *dar slana*, *ar troig* with, in the latter case, a possessive pronoun taking the place of a verb. This spread to the second

¹ Cf. *nimtha maith* SC (Wi. I. 209), 'I am not good.' In *Dá Derga*, p. 46, and LL 246a5 the *a* of *nimthá* is marked long.

² Cf. Quiggin, Greifsw. Dissert. p. 18; Quiggin *mar*, (Donegal dialect). Connacht *mur*; for instances v. ACG. Father O'Leary *mura*.

³ Cf. Strachan, Ériu, I.

person (negative) in *ni-for-gliccu*, etc., where already the positive had a *b* ending. Where the copula had an affixed pronoun denoting dative relation the 2 pl. also became *bar*. Thus *issum-ecen precept* Wb 10^d24, 'it is necessary for me to preach,' cf. Wb 16^e17 *nib écen lóg* where *b* is the affixed pronoun of the second plural, *isim écen-sa* LU 57^a39, but LL 58^a32 *amm ecensa*. For this phrase Fl. Bric (Wi. I, 255) has *atabair ecen* where MS. H. 3. 17 has simply the second plural of the copula itself *atib-ecen*.

A few instances of the 1 and 2 plural of the copula forms occur in PH—e.g., *cíd ar n-atáuar anchretmig-si amal bar cenel* 1752, which I take to mean 'why are ye not unbelieving like your race?' Atkinson translates 'why are ye unbelieving like your race?' which does not make sense, and leaves the *n-* in that position unaccounted for. *Atáuar* here equals *atab (adib) + ar*. A further instance is *atabar glana-si* 5262 beside *ní huile isat glanu sib* in the next line.

§ II. The instance *fúisminit annsin conid 'nar mec don Choimdid* PH 7869, 'we then confess that we are sons of the Lord' is peculiar and almost shows a mixture of two constructions *condan meic* and (the Mid. Ir.) *co failmet 'nar maccaib*. Such constructions, where it was thought desirable to keep the pronominal subject after the verb, would be likely to pass over easily to the new one with *ina*.

The phrase *tuicfe-siu cen fúirech sinne conid fir-epertaig 'nar ndeiscipuil do Christ* present some difficulty. If we take it (as Atkinson has done) to mean 'thou wilt see without delay that we are speakers of truth and disciples of Christ,' then we should expect, on the model of *condat dee sinne* 2069, some such phrase as *tuicfe-siu . . . condat fir-epertaig sinne ⁊ condat deiscipuil sinn do Christ*. But the writer may have wished to lay stress on *sinne*¹ 'that it is we who are the speakers of truth and that we are disciples of Christ,' and this is indicated by his putting *sinne* first. In that case again we should expect *conid sinne ata fir-epertaig ⁊ condan deiscipuil*

¹ For similar constructions cf. *co jesara na dóine-sea condat togothaig* (PH) 1813, 'that thou mayest know that these men are deceivers,' *finnad in ri a chumachta conid aimserda* 4273, *is demin cuirp na heiseirge combat foille* 6745, *cretmit Dia athair conid nemgeinnté he* 240, *no chredind Apaill co mba tigerna dam* 1293 'I believed that A. was my lord.' For corresponding constructions in O. Ir. we may compare Wb 4c6, 26b2, 29a29.

do Christ, or non-dependent . . . 7 *ammi deiscipuil do Christ*. For these O. Ir. forms, the writer would probably use (1) *condarn-* (pron. *connarn-*) or (2) *arn-*. The writer seems, as far as the MS. shows, to have been in a difficulty over this form, and in *conid epertaig* found there was nothing to show that it was first person. Here he might have added *-ne*, and then have *tuicfe-siu* . . . *sinne conid fir-epertaig-ne* [7] *ar ndescipuil do Christ*, 'thou wilt understand . . . that it is we who are speakers of truth (and) who are disciples of Christ.' Another MS. reading would be welcome here. The form *nar ndescipl-* reminds one very strongly of the noun preceded by the possessive pronoun in apposition to a pronoun (cf. § 107, 108) as suggested in the last instance, then we should read the dative '*nar ndesciplaib*, we, 'disciples of Christ.'

In the 3 pl. the *is* forms have come in, in PH, and have become general in AS. Beside 3 pl. (negative) *nidat*, the latter text has developed a form *nirsat* 1377, apparently from the prefixed *ní*, indicative. PH has already *ní hiat*. The 3 pl. relative has survived as far as PH, but has completely disappeared in AS.

§ 12.

CONSUEITUDINAL PRESENT.

Sg. 1. } No instances.
2. }

3. Gl. : *ni bi i fledaib* . . . *frisgni* Wb 22^b3, *issind aimsir imbi failid nech* Ml 86^d11, *nipi cian a masse* Wb 28^e25, *combi¹ iarum coscitur ind fir* Wb 22^e10 (sic MS), *indhi lasmbi accobur tol* Dæ Wb 30^e23, *ar ni pi glæe et ni pi firderb anadchithir tri themel* Wb 12^e12, *combi remib rethith iarum* Wb 13^b13, etc., *combi discipul* Wb 13^a12, 'so that he becomes an apostle.' Cf. further Wb 9^d5, Sg 188^a6, etc., *combi dias mor ind óengránne* Wb 13^e23. But not : 7 *intan* as nomen habitatoris *is and biid* neuter *huad* Sg 104^b5. With *ro-* : *hórbi lán* Ml 36^b3.

Im. Brain : *mescaid fairgge combí fuil*, 'he mixes the sea

¹ The editors of Thes. wrongly read *combí*.

until it becomes blood'; *i tig asmbi eggna suillsi tenead*
Dá Derga 18, 7 imbi ecnai dammaig ib.

SR, PH, AS—No instances.

Plural: No instances.

Mod.: Wanting.

REMARKS.

§ 13. The above instances are sufficient to show that there was a copula in the consuetudinal present in O. Ir. the usages of which were as distinct from the corresponding substantive verb as are those in the other parts of the verb. Instances outside the Glosses are found in Imr. Brain and Togal Bruidne *Dá Derga*. The use of *-bi* meaning 'to become' in so many instances, is worth noticing.

§ 14.

PRETERITE AND PERFECT.

Sg. 1. Gl.: (a) *basa Iudide* Wb 10^d34, *nipsa trom for nech* Wb 17^e2.
 (b) *doménar ropsa beo* Wb 3^e27, *corupsa lán diib* Ml 104^d3,
annarobsa bithe Ml 45^d6, *nirbsa dagduine* Wb 18^e14.

Cf. Tec. Corm.¹, *basa costechtach caille* LL 344^d38,
nipsa rochruid LL 344^d45 a *mbása éolach-sa* *Dá Derga* 27.

SR: No instance.

PH: (a) *intan ba-sa beo* 3883, *bam trocair 7 bam cendais fri b.*
 6105, (b) *ond uair robam noide* 6105, *ropsam aithrech* 701.

AS: (a) (a) *or baam luaithe* 1615 (p.) *nirbham gilla nirbham*
laech 1426 (p). (b) *robsam cenn Féinne* 939 (p), *robsum*
álaind 4044 (p).

(8) *ni ba sen missi* 3386, *rob 'fiadaigi mé* 2221.

Sg. 2. Gl.: perf. *huare romsa*², Ml 96^d1, cf. 103^a4 ib.

Cf. *or bat*³ *mac bec* *Dá Derga* 107.

¹ V. Ed. Meyer, R.I.A. Todd Lect. Vol. XV., p. 16 for further instances.

² Cf. Thurneysen, Handbuch § 792.

³ *or bi mac* H. St. F., *obim mac* YBL.

SR : *rosat glêchert* 3574, *narbsat firsath* 1318. Cf. *nirsat* LL 54^a11, *nirsa eolach* LL 70^b7.

PH : *ropsat cara* 3099.

AS : No instance. *corsat* 4444 is used as a present.

Sg. 3. Gl. : (a) *ba coscc carat* Wb 5^b32, *ba liach a n-épeltu* 4^d20, *cia bo lobur* 16^c26, *nibo mor a mbrig linn* Wb 18^a10, *naþo chenel domsa* Wb 13^a20. *nibu ar chuingid* Wb 24^d7, *doménarsa ba marb peccad* Wb 3^c26.

(b) *robo diliu linn* Wb 14^d13, *hóre ropo co fáilti tuccad* Wb 24^b26, *huare ro-m-bu mór dorat* Ml 136^c11, *con rubu chrín* Ml 99^a2, *nirbo aís muintire* Wb 21^b12, *nirbo sár leu* Wb 19^a1, *hore nirbu foirbthe* Wb 33^b4, *hore nárbu bae* Wb 5^b12, *connarbu huain doib* Ml 100^a3, *corbu écen* Wb 32^c17.

Rel. *ani narbu dilmain*.

Cf. *ba santach imm ór* Trip. Life 38, 2. *comba marb* ib. 14, 1, *ba slán fochétár* ib. 200 17 *arrubu[f]érach ind reilec* ib. 228, 15.

Cf. *nirbo thoirneach a flaith* Dá Derga 20.

SR : *ba formtech diabul* 1105, *ba briathar rig rorāide* 2512, *combo frith²* 3144, *nipu hēirge* 3778.

(b) *ciarbo glē do chruth* 1677, *corbo thláith* 1615.

PH : *ba habb* 556, *ba he int Eoin* 867, *aíret ba beo* 212, *comba hathair* 4291, (b) *robo chubaid co . . .* 5445, *robo buidech Dia* 6102, *rop ecal leis* 911 *corba drúid cuilech* 1737, *corba lán nem* 3088, *cor fhír in ni* 107, *combafír* 1082; Neg. : *nirbo ail leis* 517 *nirba hoen* 3078, *nar choir* 2458.

AS : *ba mo issi* 5927, *ba marb hī* 1256 ('she died'), *dobo maith lemsa* 3336, *andar leo ba dabach* 6202, *do b'é* 2535, *fa minic* 3095.

Neg. : No instance.

fa maith a lúth 2007. [cf. *robai urlam fa comair é* 440

Fr.]. (b) *robo mhé in Cailte* 3614, *nirbo deggres* 3841. Neg. : *nirb' inmain hī* 4140, *nir messa* 4539, *nírchian* 235, *nochar*

¹ Leg. *co ro rith*, 'till he was sold.'

² This may be taken as second future which it is in form.

b'i 3850, *corbo tslemain* 7224, *cor ingen* 539, *ingen darbo chomainm* 6453, *ben dara comainm Clidna* 3844.

Rel. : *in drem ba nessa dó* 6203, *is sinde fa trén* 6496, *isse ba ri Connacht* 6358, *dob'ferr* 2536, *in facais ben bud mó* 5939, *Etain fa maith um biad* 7346 (p.), (pl.) *inmain triar fa blaithe lí* 7349, *in ba luaithe* 7393, *nár gann* 2570, *in mac roba tsine* 2730.

Mod : *ba, bu(dh) é, gurb é, níorbh é, gur,¹ níor* (asp.), etc.

Pl. I. Gl. : (a) No instance ; (b) *robumar cuindrichthi*, Ml 43^d6, *huare robummar bibdid-ni* 62^d5, *nirbommar utmaill* Wb 26^b14.

SR : No instance.

PH : No instance.

AS : (β) *rob' ainicnech sind issin cath* 5219, *nir lucht comaimsire sinde* 5926, *roba subach sind* 642, *nír léir doibsiun sinde* 5238.

Cf. *giodh sinne niorsam malla* Duan. Finn XIII, 14, which is *cid sinni nirsar malla* in LL 206^b42 ; *ba ro-mharb sinne dhe* Duan. 38 is *ropsar marb* LL 207^a38.

Pl. 2. Gl. : No instance.

SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Pl. 3. Gl. : (a) *batir athissi sidi daitsiu* Ml 90^d17, *air batar carait* Ml 31^a3.

Rel. : *innahi batar buithi* Ml 23^e16 ; *ciaptar móra a pecthai* Ml 98^e5, *amtar mbati* (drowned) 84^d5. (b) *robtar irlim* Wb 7^b5, *foibith romatar indarmthi á oic* Ml 78^b12, *connarbtar ní* Ml 99^d7.

Cf. *amdar suidigthi na bissi* Trip. Life 10, 31, *bátar toirsich de* ib. 84, 19, *comdar so-imberta de* ib. 218, 21 ; *bátár comaltai dúnd* Dá Derga 46, *comdar scítha ind eich* ib. 15.

SR : (a) *batar toirsech in tuath* 3885, *batar mogaid* 7427, *batar debthaig* 6264 (rel.) *batar daingne* 1928 ; *giabdar ilarda[i]* 5781, *ciabtar glain* 2421, *ciamtar amrai* 5800, *comtar mairb* 5111, (neg.) *ni-ptar amra* 6540.

(b) *roptar snímaig* 3449, *robdar dimdaig* 4051.

¹ *Go mbu* is used in such phrases as *dubhairt gach uile dhuine go mbu mhór an truagh é*, *dubhairt sé go mb' fhíor dhom é*, *facthas dó go mb' fhíor dhom é*, etc.

(c) *bat homnaig* 7763, *nibat clithemail* 5515.

(d) *rosat triuin* 3983, *ciapsat glain* 8007.

(β) *ba dimdaig dib tōla trén* 5579, *ba huamnaig* 5619, *ba cain intsluaig* 3959.

PH: (a) *batar sochruid a cuirp* 1039, *comtar dáithnig* 846, *comtar lána on Spirut* 5479, *niptar dligthach* 877, *niptar uaiti* 2522, *naptar dee* 731 (b) *Rohtar tromda* 3061, *rohtar lána* 5510, etc., *corbat sithamla doib* 4043.

(β) *ba hogslān a n-etaige* 1039, *doronais na crandu-corba*[*l*] *toirthech* 1358.

Rel.: *in fairend rohtar tairissi dam* 4019, *nahi naptar* 6144.

AS: (γ) *robsat* 937 (p.), *nirsat cesachtaigh* 4037 (p), *nirsat mīanaigh* 4037 (p.), *nirsat uircendaig tecuisc* 4038 (p.), *gersat rulaidh*¹ *a bhfeadna* 457 (p.) ('passed away' Stokes); *gurbhat subaigh sobrónaigh iat* 2303; *nir'áil na mná* 655.

(β) *roba sáitheach triur* 3939 (for 'were'), *nirbo cromcendaig a ruisc* 4038, *rob iat sin* 3813 (*ro bat*—Stokes), *corbo slemain . . . iat* 5264, *ba subach na sloig* 1232, *coma slán iat* 6208, etc., *robo tinoltá fir Eirenn* 7888.

Mod.: *ba, bu(dh) iad, gurb 'iad, nírbh iad, gur, níor* (asp.), etc.

REMARKS.

§ 15. The 1 sg. *basa* does not occur in SR, but *Dá Derga* contains one instance of it. It has become *bam, robam, ropsam* in PH, of which the first has fallen together with the future *bam* which occurs 2017, 2427 and SR 851, and the last *ropsam* has added the pronominal ending. *Baam, robsam* still survive in AS, in the poetry. In the prose, a new analytic form *ba . . . mé, rob' . . . mé* is used, and is thus almost down to the level of Mod. Ir.

The second singular is rare. SR has *rosat*, PH has a form *ropsat* like 1 sg.

In 3 sg., in PH, *corbu, corbo* has become *corba, cor* which are

¹ Leg. *ge asrulatar* or *atrulatar* 'gone away.'

also in AS. In AS, there are no instances of the *ro*-less forms after *ní*; and *ro* is rare in both positive and relative forms in PH and AS, which also is in the direction of Mod. Ir.

Of the 1 pl. there is no instance in SR nor PH, and the new analytic form is developed in AS. Of the 2 pl. I have no example in any of the texts.

The 3 pl. is fairly well preserved in SR, but new forms *rosat*, *bat* and *ba* have developed. In this case, PH represents pretty much the same condition of things. In AS, all the old forms have disappeared, but some synthetic forms *ropsat*, *nírsat*, *gurbhat* are preserved in the poetry. The analytic construction with *roba*, *ba* is, in this text, regular.

§ 16.

FUTURE.

Sg. 1. Gl. : *be sóir mo brethre* Wb 4^c18.

SR : *bam ri* 851, *biam tigerna* 855; *in hed bam*¹ *beo ní fellub* 3188.

Cf. *biam cu-sa* IU 61^a9, *ba[m] marb-sa* T. Ferbe 484, *bam tarb* ib. 647, *bam marb* ib. 681.

PH : *cen bam beo* 2017, *ar bam anoraigti* 2427, 7 *bam cintach sa desin* 6556.

AS : No instance.

Sg. 2. Gl. : *comba soilse-siu* Wb 22^c3.

Cf. *biat ri-siu* LL 147^a9, *biat forscailtech raith sochaide* LL 147^a20.

SR : *ba baeth* 5955, *ba tuicse* 1599.

PH : (a) *nibat cara do Cesair* 2815. (β) *bid marb tussa* 298, *bid slan tú* 803.

AS : No instance.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *bid fír a tairngire* Wb 2^c19, *bith moircc domsa* 10^d25, *niba maith* Wb 1^d8, *namba lobur* 6^d15, *niba chian* MI 56^d7.

Rel. : *bas : doig bas fír* Wb 5^d36; *ished bes chobuir do* 20^c10.

Cf. *nocoba fotta a flaithius* Trip. L. 70, 16, *niba sonairt* ib. 70, 16, *is tu bas ri de Dá Derga* 16.

¹ Strachan gives this instance as present subjunctive.

SR : *niba glorach* 8187, *niba ceim soer* 8283, etc., *diamba comainm* 1968. Rel. : *bas huasal* 1843.

PH : *bid iffern a crich* 7616, *intan bid lainn la Dia* 1019, (β) *bid tanaise dams a he* 1173, *niba hamlaid bias* 1346, *mac diamba lan nem* 2016, *comba dúntai doras* 6905.

Rel. : *ise bus liaig dam* 424.

AS : *bid hi* 1320, *bid anacal mor n-anum* 1840, *bid ordraic in topar* 6776, *niba comairce dho Diarmait* 1840, *ris ba cumhan* 3004 (p.).

Rel. : γ *bus maith let* 7825, *cein bus cumhan* 1445, *ni bhus mo* 2008.

Mod. : [*budh*¹], rel. : *is*, neg. *ní*.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *bimmi æcni et bimmi foirbthi uli* Wb 12^c9, *bami coeredes* Wb 4^a17.

Pl. 2. Gl. : No instance.

SR : *bid-for-coscraig* 4706.

PH, AS : No instance.

Pl. 3.² Gl. : *bit goacha* Wb 26^a19, *bit bibdid huili* Wb 2^a14, *bit filii Dei a n-ainm. nibat briathra nach aili* Ml 68^c10, *combat foilsí* Ml 112^b10, *anambet ecailsí* Ml 15^d7.

Rel. : *beta téit* Wb 29^a1.

Cf. *biat mathi do chland LL*, 147^a10 ; *frismbiat*³ *formdig ardrigna I.* MacU., (Wi., p. 69, Lec. *frismbat*)

SR : *biat slana* 4167, *iatsom nípdar duthaine* 8355.

Cf. *bat mairb fir* Ferb 105 ; *bidat marthanaig FA* Wi. I, 174, L. Br. *bídat*.

PH : No instance.

AS : (α) *bat imfoicsí* 2616 (p.).

(β) *niba lóssa* 992, *is siat sin muirfíther* 7082.

Rel. : *is siat sin bus chomairchí* 7775 (p.), *ní fuighthear fir bus chosmail* 7796, *mná bus tochu* 993.

¹ Rare ; generally replaced by *is* or the substantive verb construction. Cf. such phrases as *is fada is lón duit é* 'it will last you a long time,' *dheamhan mórán is fearrde í a bhfuighe sí* 'she will not be much the better of what she gets' ; *is fánach a bhás sé*, etc.

² *Beit fir mora ar macain bíc* Cath Carn. Con. CZ. III., 204 is to be read *bit fir moir*, cf. *bit daim riata* (ib.).

³ The Egerton MS. has here *frissmu formdig airdrigo*.

REMARKS.

§ 17. In 1 sg. future *bam* seems to be the general early Mid. Ir. form. The strong form *biam*, SR 855, indicates a tendency of the copula form to go over into that of the substantive verb, O. Ir. *bia*, AS *biat*. Cf. further *biam* LU 61^a9, 2 sg. *biat* LL 147^a9, etc., which point to an accented conjugation of the future of the copula in the tenth century. The new analytic form *bid* . . *tu* has developed in PH. It has also a negative *nibat*.

In the 3 sg., the O. Ir. forms are preserved pretty much in the same condition down to AS.

I have not found any instance of the first plural outside the Glosses. The 2 pl. in SR has *bid* plus the infixed or affixed *for*. The 3 pl. *biat* of SR is in line with the 1 and 2 sg. above. A 3 pl. *bat* is preserved in the poetry of AS.

§ 18.

SECONDARY FUTURE.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *robad maith a flaithemnas* MI 89^b9, *ropad maith limsa* Wb 12^e29, *rombad pater* Wb 2^e21, *nibbad bind* Sg 58^b5 ; *cia bed flaith* MI 89^b7, *cipad a dene ind hesséirgi* Wb 25^b27.

SR : *combad sainsercc sochaide* ; *deithbir bad chosc* 4997.

PH : *in dóig combad mesi sin* 5039, 5045, 5157, *asbert M. combad attreb do* 6314. *ropad sóinmech* 4039, *intan bud ail* 941.

Rel. : *in rig P. bud escop doib* 2166, *inni na bud maith* 7505.

AS : *nóbudh ail lib* 7262, *6r budh gairdiughad* . . *éisdecht* 301 (future ?) ; *doba maith linn* 1088, *robad dail* 3998 (Stokes : *roba dail*), *mac óclaig bad ferr* 6844 (rel.), *in uair budh chóir* 6911 (rel.).

Pl. 1. : (β) *robad olc le Find sind* AS 6488.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *robtis maithi* Wb 16^b19, *roptis indai* MI 15^e8, *romdis direchtai* MI 48^a12.

Cf. *asbert Patraic naptis torthig* Trip. Life 210, 3 ; *asbert roptis galraig* ib. 234, 27. 7 *ropad do chlannsa betis comarbai indi* ib. 146, 27.

SR :

PH : (γ) γ *nibdais aingil diada* 1877, *a ráð comtis dee* 731.

AS : (cf. *echt damad buidech fir Éirenn* 6876, 'a deed for which the men of Ireland would be thankful.').

Mod. : *budh*, all persons.

REMARKS.

§ 19. No first or second persons occur in the secondary future of the copula. The older forms survive till PH. In AS *budh*, *-ba*, *-bad* are used side by side.

§ 20.

IMPERATIVE.

Sg. 2. Gl. : *ba chuimnech* ML. 46^b29 ; *naba thoirsech* Wb 29^d19.

Cf. *ba gaeth*, etc., Tec Corm., p. 30, 3, LL 346^a3 *bat gaeth* ; SC § 26 *bat umal*, etc.

SR : *nābdat dolam*, 1253.

PH : *bat cúimnech ina haimsire* 1208, *bat slan* 2319 (future ?).
[Subst. Verb in *bid crid-oirchisechtach dúind* 181].

AS : *nár bhat dian* 587 (p.), *nár bat buain-scelach*, *narbat labar*, 596 (p.), *nársad duiltadach* 602 (p.), *nársat ingnech* 598.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *beð dlichthech* Wb 5^c20, *bad amal asindbiur-sa* Wb 13^a25, *fáilte cáich bad fáilte dwibsi* Wb 5^d24, *nabad lia diis* Wb 13^a4, *beð amal asmbiur-sa dogneither* 13^a29.

SR : *hed bad* (?) *fof* 2464 (MS. *bae*).

PH : cf. γ *bid amlaid sin domela* . . . γ *ibas a chailech* 5344.

AS : No instance. [Cf. *narab cumthach duit ainjial* 602, *narub bés* 1442 p.].

Mod. Ir. : wanting.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *baán tairismich* Wb 5^d22, *ban buidich* 29^b17, *ban chosmailine* 33^b2.

SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Pl. 2. Gl. : *bad bii* Wb 3^b6, *bad foidnich* 5^d21, *badí firidinsi* Wb

22^a24 (leg. *bad firiáin-si* ?), *bed imthuge-si* Wb 6^b3, *na bad anfoirbthe-si* Wb 12^d26.

SR : *nabid uamnaig* 4830, *nadib leisc* 7843.

PH : No instance. [Substantive verb in *bíd-siu cuimigthe* 2537, *bíid co dethitech do rér na rig* 4069, *bid . . forpthe* 2413].

AS : No instance. [Subst. verb in *bidh co heistechtach cailli*, *bid co féchsanach muighi* 600].

Pl. 3. Gl. : *bat chosmali* Wb 17^e5 ; cf. 20^e2, 31^e13, *bat hé berte bretha* 9^e12. *nábat nacha arm aili* Wb 22^d14.

SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Mod. : No instance.

REMARKS.

§ 21. The imperative forms early underwent considerable changes and eventually totally disappeared as in Mod. Ir., being replaced by the substantive verb. Thus Wb 5^e20 *cech irnigde dongneid ituil Dée bed dlichthech*=Mod. Ir. *gach urnaighthe a ghníos sibh le toil Dé bíod sí dlisteanach* (*dlichthech*) ; *bed* (*bad*) *dliged* would be *bíod sé 'na dhlightheadh*. The dating of the changes is difficult owing to the condition of the MSS. Thus *bat gaeth*, etc., LL 346^a3 *Tecosca Corm.* is *ba gaeth* in some of the other MSS.¹ Cf. *bat umal*, etc., SC (Wi. I, § 26) in a similar piece. *Bat* was probably the 10th century form. There are also two instances of *bat* in PH, but it is in the same text replaced by the substantive verb *bid* for older *bī* with which it had probably fallen together in pronunciation. There are no real imperative forms in AS, except some *ro-* forms—*nārbat*, *narsad*, which occur in the poetry. These are repetitions of some of the maxims of *Tecosca Cormaic* under the guise of instructions by Finn to MacLughach, and are to be regarded more as a traditional embellishment than as the language of the time.² In the Franciscan MS. (of AS) *bidh co heistechtach cailli* 600, occurs side by side with the instances *nārbat*, *nārsat* of the Lismore MS. In the 2 pl. *narbad*

¹ Cf. Ed. Meyer, (R.I.A. Todd Lect. xv) p. 46.

² A good instance of the treatment of early Middle Irish poetry preserved in a more modernized form may be had by comparing some of the poems in *Duanaire Finn* with the older versions of them in LL.

of the Glosses becomes *na bid* (*uamnaig*) SR 4830, 'be ye not afraid,' which cannot be distinguished in form from the substantive verb. An attempt at a copula form is *nadib leisc* 7843. In PH all the instances of the 2 pl. have gone over to the substantive verb, plus adjective or the substantive verb plus adverb. Thus, *biid-siu cuimigthi* (MS.?) *i forcetal in choimded* 2537, 'be ye girded¹(?) in the teaching of the Lord,' *biid co dethitech do rér na rig* 4069. Thus we may take the imperative of the copula as having practically gone over to the substantive verb, by the time of PH.

§ 22.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD—PRESENT.

Sg. 1. Gl.: *ní ba dimicthe-se libsi* Wb 21^d3, *cia ba beo* 23^b29; *main-ba* 17^c10.

Cf. *corbam gaeth* Dá Derga 17. Cf. *corbar* LL.

SR: (b) *nárbam crinnach* 3202.

PH: (β) No instance.

AS: (a) *mun báam buidech* 1071 (prose), *madam buidech-sa* 800 (p.).

(β) *acht mad^a missi* 5881, *ní mairenn acht mád missi* 3320

Cf. *acht mad messi* Dá Derga 59.

Sg. 2. Gl.: *cia ba loingthech* Wb 6^c9, *arm-ba cháinchomraccach-so* 30^b23, *cia fa firián* Ml 36^a32, *co[m]-ba ingraintid cum-[ach]tach* Ml 54^b19.

Cf. *manibat ainmet³* Trip. Life 78, 19.

SR: *ní-ba dicheoil* 2197, *nír-ba truag* 3295. Cf. *diamsat fissid* T. Febe 352.

PH: *corbat cretmech* 6776, (2247), *conarbat ancretmech* 6675.

AS: *corbat sidhuigh . . . gurbhat duilig* 581 (p.), *nírsat sibleadh tigi* 598 (p.), *nírsat bidba* 597 (p.); *acht mad tusa at aenar* 3556.

Sg. 3. Gl.: *acht rop Crist pridches* Wb 23^b24, *corub mebuil lem* Ml 138^c8, *níp sain* Wb 5^d14, *arimp aigthidiu* Wb 23^d23,

¹ Leg. *cuimrigthi*.

² A phrase= 'except.' ³ Stokes translates 'if I were not patient with thee.'

arnap trom lib Wb 14^a1, *conaib fír* Ml 31^d9, *cip cruth* Wb 5^d33, *cip hé-ade* Ml 26^a1, *manip sulbair* Wb 8^a12, *sechíp* 13^a3, *airndip maith* Wb 25^d21, *indib maith* 26^b24, *condib cuimse* Wb 14^a3 *act ropo* Wb 13^a25, *corbu im-maith beith* Ml 90^a11, *ní bo* Wb 27^e9.

Rel. *bes meldach* Wb 4^e19, *bas uisse* Wb 28^b9.

Cf. *corab meissi féin bus breithem* Trip. Life 118, 21, *corab gel* 54, 22, *manip do chruas* ib. 120, 5.

SR: *duit rop sásad* 2908, *níba huathad* 1374, *acht corb dall* 2900, *menip cian* 6127.

Rel.: *nichuingem flaith bis mo hífus* 1219.

PH: *acht co rop dichra* 3345, *coro móti bus ingnad lib* 3745, *na rob guasacht he* 4220, *corop sib toisech innises* 3413, *manip ail duit* 2080, *minap* 1542 *cincob aire* 3237, *cipe cretius* 1296, *secip drui* 1172; *cíd inmain* 7437.

AS: *ní rab ilar a tredan* 519 *gurub é bias* 2261, *na rub bés* 1442, *acht co rub coir* 6664, *cíngo somain* 3954, *cen gub nua* 5919, *munub olc* 575, *go mba gairdinghadh* 1062, *mad toisce*, *mad maith let* 2061, *gid lór mét* 1033.

Pl. 1. Gl.: *anumman* (=an-nu-m-ban) *aurcheltai* Ml 27^b10, *comman dessimrecht do chach* Wb 31^e11.

Cf. *nípan córai* LI, 277^a22, 'we must not be at peace.' Stokes—'it shall not be un-peace.'

SR, PH, SR: No instance.

Pl. 2. Gl.: *bede preceptor* Wb 13^a10, *arna bad huilcc* Wb 5^d38, *diambad mathi* 16^a31, *combad accomailti-si limsa* 23^a26.

SR: *nīp-for-cétludaig*¹ 4872, 'ye must not be licentious.' *nīburn-ecnaigid* 4876, *nar-bar-durcridig* 4842.

PH, AS: No instances.

Pl. 3. Gl.: *acht ropat sáini* Sg 199^a1. *bés níbat chutrummai* Wb 9^d27, *ambat n-erchoissi* Ml 73^e9, *combat irlithi* Wb 7^c14, *manibat fer[r]som* Ml 24^e1, *arnapat* Wb 26^d21.

Rel.: *bete gentilia* Sg 33^a16, *beta cheti* Ml 126^e4, *am-bata n-* Ml 127^a4.

¹ Cf. AS 3881 *is cellud duit ceilebrad; cétlud sine samraid* Corm. s.v. *Cetsoman*. Ascoli Gloss 183, transl. "primus rigor tempestatis aestivae;" cf. further Meyer, Contrib.

SR : *ni bat luamnaig* 4395, *diamat glain* 1461, *ciambat ilardai na sluaig*, *ciamtar imdai ind ríg rorúaid* 4833, 4834.

PH : *dorigine corbat*¹ *sithamla doib* 4044, *corbat bairgin* 4918, *γ combat mallaigthe o Dia* 7302.

(β) *cencob dentia la ele iat* 7362.

AS : (α) *gérsat imdha* (597 p.), *gursat maela a meidhe* 1034 (p.), 'until they are truncated.'

(β) *corub gairdingud iat* 7758, *co ma slemain slanchrechtach iat* 5215, *γ cid iat in lin is lia* 7620.

Mod. : All persons *nárba*, *nárbudh*.

§ 23.

REMARKS.

The personal forms rapidly underwent considerable changes. In the first person *-m* was added in SR, *nirbam* 3202. AS has *báam* 1071, in the prose.

The 2 sg. has a *-t* added in PH.² Of the first plural, I have been able to find only one instance outside the Glosses. In the 2 pl., SR has its usual pronominal ending *-for-*. The 3 pl. was being replaced in PH, and had lost its old form in AS, where it is mostly replaced by the analytic form, except in poetry.

§ 24.

PAST SUBJUNCTIVE.

Sg. 1. Gl. : *no-mbin dermatach* Ml 20^d4, *com-bin cosmail fri encu* Ml 91^b7, *námmin duine* Wb 17^d23, *arm-benn duine* Ml 130^d4.

SR, AS : No instance.

PH : *mar no-béind athair doib* 6107.

Mod. : *dá mbudh . . . mé* also corruptly *dhá mur mé*.

Sg. 2. Gl. : *niptha labar* Wb 5^b32 ; *armt[ha] tairismeach* 5^b32 (sic leg ?).

SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *bad foammamaigthe* Wb 13^a16, *ce bad he frissa ndénte*

¹ Cf. 1358 *doronais na crandú corba toirthrech*.
side Wi. i, 213.

² *ba* and *bat* occur side by

9^c24, *act robad tairismech linni* Wb 18^d11; *corpad mithig lessom* Wb 4^e37, *arm-bad peccad* Wb 3^e20, *combad sníni for moidem-se* 15^d6, *mainbad fortachtain Dé* Ml 134^b3 *arna tomnathar bed foammamichthe* Wb 13^c2, *combed hed nobed and* Sg 3^b10. *bid*: *in doich bid frithorcan lib* Wb 18^a9, *amal bid annu-mothaiged* Ml 25^a12; *amal ni bad fiu* Ml 63^d2.

Cf. *amal bid marb* Trip. 220, 23.

SR: *diám-bad athirge dognéth* 1409, *ciambad lond-brass* 3617; *ropad ferr dun* 2739, *mani-bed¹Moisi* 4129, *menbad* 4643.

PH: *diambad ail do* 2375, *acht mani-bad droch duine he* 2698, *7 mainbad tresi Pilip* 832. *amal bid i cotlad nobetis* 1011, *amal bid* 924, 1235, 1882, etc.

AS: *munbud coll* 127, *munbud tréigen* 128, *damad tsolus* 2921, *damad thusca* 6429, *gemad fann* 7911, *giamad lim noricthe a les* 1137, *comad lugaiti an-náire* 1764.

Mod.: *dá mbudh, murab*, 'unless.' Corruptly *dhá murb' é*.

Pl. 1. Gl.: *amal bemmis fordiucailsí* Ml 134^b5, *amal bemmis bibdaid* 114^d4, *amal bimmis maic deit* Ml 91^b16, *commimmis ecil* Wb 29^d16.

SR, AS: No instance.

PH: *amal bemis² marb* 2967.

Pl. 2.

Gl, SR, PH: No instance.

AS: (a) No instance. (β) *damad esbaid leis sib* 6489, *damad dáine sib* 7704.

Pl. 3. Gl.: *olca betis mou* Ml 100^c11; *inna intled betis dillithi .i. betis imgabthib* 29^d6; *indate bitis cranna dufubaitis* 92^d6; *airmdis hé iusti* Ml 54^a12, *amtis forcmahti* Ml 34^a10, *coniptis ersoilcithi, coniptis erlama* Ml 100^c24, *mais huili* Wb 5^b15, etc.

Cf. *amal bitis cóic sutralla* Trip. Life 126, 12.

SR: *ciabtis cosmaili* 2892, *comtis leir* 2808.

Cf. *diamtis Ulaid nobetis immalle frim T. Ferbe* 396.

¹ Cf. Mod. *meirach Maoisi* 'but for M,' also *mur mbeidhinn-se=meirach mise*; *mur raibh Seán* 'but for John', where the substantive verb is used.

² Probably copula as it is without *no-*, but cf. 6108 *nobetis-seom mec*.

PH : *a tuarcain comtis leir a cnamu* 1395, *comtis slana i nDia* 1672, *comtis díрге mo éta* 4008, *comtis fáiltigide* 7013 ; *amal betis* 2445, 7 [*mar*] *no-betis-seom mec dom-sa* 6108 ; *immarbdais meic do* 4097.

AS : No instance.

Mod. : *dá mbudh*, etc.

§ 25

REMARKS.

The 1 sg. is preserved to PH, 6107 *mar no-béind athair doib*, in the form of the substantive verb, with *no-* and with a stressed vowel. The form, as it stands, shows a danger of confusion even at that time, between copula and substantive verb.

The 1 pl. survived till PH. *amal bemís marb* 2967. This I take to be the copula.¹ It is noticeable that the adjective is in the singular. The 3 pl. *betis*, *-btis* is also common in PH, but it is confused with the corresponding form of the substantive verb, witness *no-betis-seom mec damsa* 6108.

¹ Cf. note 2, last page.

THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

§ 26.

ATÁU.

Sg. 1. Gl. : *ni do chorp attóo-sa* Wb 12^a21, *is occa attóo* 26^d8, *ani ittóo* Wb 17^d24, *itau dar cenn sosceli* 32^a10.

Cf. *atáu* Trip Life 122, 27, *is fer a chach ito-sa* SC, Wi. I, § 28).

SR : *itú ic frithalim* 1187.

PH : *atú* lx. bl. and 507, *atú isna pianaið* 1397, *atú-sa cengailti* 2061, *is amlaid atú-sa* 5269, etc.

AS : *cian atúsa* 2546, *olc atú* 3369, *ór itú* 3561, *ara-túsa* 4576, *gach ní gá dtú fiafraighidh* 7595.

Cf. *ge atú fa thuirse* Duan. F. 32, 96, *atú gan biadh* (ib. 31, 1, 10 instances), *ge ataim gan ní* 32, 7, *ataim da ioc* 35, 7 (3 instances).

Mod. : *atáim, táim, tá mé.*

Sg. 2. Gl. : *is na n-aicci atái* Wb 5^b27, *aní hi-tái* Wb 5^b38.

SR. : *nocon-alaind mar atai* 1305, *asin baile atái* 4799, *cid tái diar fagail* 1753, *cia fora-tái iarair* 3096.

PH. : *for baile atái* 1298, *atai oc ráda, atái-siu it 'óclach do C.* 2818, *ma tai* 8116, *asatái* 694, etc.

AS. : *or atái* 2018, *ca lin atái* 3578, *arin dtulaig a dtái* 1336, *cid láissiu* 3079. Cf. *ataoi* Duan F. 2, 2, *mur taoi* 20, 67, etc.

Mod. : *ataoi, taoi.* [Rare in Connacht, where (a)táir, (a)tá tú are used].

Sg. 3. : *ata in coimdiu* Ml 30^b27, *ata trede tadbhat som* Wb 13^c26, *atá Dia atach ndúnni* Ml 66^d1, *is amne atáa* Wb 6^a19, *isand atá gním* Ml 31^b23, *atá brithem la suidib* Wb 9^c2, *no-m-tha* Wb 13^c10, *ni-b-ta* 49^b10, etc. Impers. -*tathar* 28^d4.

Cf. *du ita* Trip. Life 70, 7.

SR : *ata sunn* 5995, *atá ni is messu* 1349; *ni-m-tha samail* 391, *ni-p-ta* 1444, *ni-s-ta* 4734, *atá for oen rith* 203, *cia dath ata for cach gaeth* 7948, *cia 'cata ind árim* 7558.

PH : *uair cuich ata etir amal tu* 158, *ata asa mo chind-sa* 805, *ata isin recht* 2794, *martir dia ta lith* 6523, *duine oca ta* 3829; *fochraicc ro-s-ta de* 1613; *ni-s-ta fochraicc* 5802.

Rel. : *is sinne ata for firinde* 2671, *ise log ata da cech oen* 6448.

AS : *ata* 3658, *atá dha mhét d'ulc* 3563. *is ann atá in típra* 3602, *arin doinind atá ann* 5015 ; *mátá ceol* 3485, *in lucht aca tá* 5217, *otá sin* 3821, *inni dia tá* 3385, *cid diatá* 1160, *a dtá* 980, 1375, *áit itá* 1517, *otha* 936 ; *odá sin* 5387.

Rel. : *banchóic atá acum* 429, *inté atá*, *issiat atá* 3412, *int óclach atá* 3285, *is sib atá arin écóir* 7119, *ca hanmanna atá oraib* 2766, 6122, etc. Cf. *a lucht atá asttigh*¹ Duan F. 13, 26.

Mod. : *tá* ; Rel. *atá* ; with preps.² *ag a bhfuil*, *a bhfuil* . . . *aige* ; *nach bhfuil*, (*na fuil*), etc. Impersonal : (*a*)*táthar*.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *ni uainn fesine ataam for tectiri* Wb 15^a13, *ataam i cuimriug* 32^a8.

Cf. *ataam sunn* Trip. Life 28, 22.

SR : *bráthir sinn huile mar tám* 3493, *itám hi cacht* 1727 ; *feib atam nocht* 1347.

PH : *ni an-oen inud ataum* 1556, *atám i pen* 2204, *inad hitaum* 1506, etc.

AS : *in triar atám ar in tuind* 3767 (p.) ; *in da nónbur itámait* 36, *atámuit* 964, 1858, *atámait ann* 5081, *ochtur . . . derb-rathar atám sunn* 5082. *int-ochtur atamaid* 5084 ; *i tam tig* 153, with perps. ; *ara tám* 719, *conice in mbaile-seo atám* 3583, *ca crich itamait* 3750.

Mod. : *atámuid* (*támuid*), *atámí* (M.), *atá sinn*.

Pl. 2. Gl. : *isamlid ataid-si* Wb 4^a4 ; *masu do reir spirito ataaith* Wb 20^b16, *hóre ataad hi cath* Wb 22^a14 ; *forsataith* Wb 20^a6.

SR : *isamlaid ataid* 1240, *ataid i n-ingabud* 3630.

PH : *masa mesi ataid d' iarraid* 3109, *cia forsa-taid d'iarraid* 3103, *intan atathi a n-oen inad* 597, *in duine atathai do chasait* 2734.

AS : *in lín atáthi* 3497 (2451), *cajat atáthi* 6254, 714.

Mod. : [*atáthai* (rel.), *táthai*, rare], *tá sibh*.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *ataat ám in chrutsin* Sg 140^b1, *ataat mesai Dæ nephchom-tetarrachtí amal abis* Ml 55^a11, *ataat da n-orpe rogab Abracham ; ni sochude diib ataat and* Wb 8^a17.

¹ Cf. LL 207^a13 for the same phrase in this poem.

² The *-fuil* forms are always used for the *atá* ones after prepositions and in negative and dependent position.

Cf. *an aes cetna attát* Trip. Life 120, 17, *ithé sidi itat do Patruicc* ib.

SR: *atat fo nêim* 467, *atat im thaebaib Totham* 3104, *co ngili cinnas atat* 7949; *rí fotat huile na sloig* 3837, *nat*, 'than.'

PH: *atat for nim* 437, *atat a thaisi hi sund* 1440. *ataut di bl. o atbath D.* 1064; *gé tát gnethi as*¹ *trumma* 7422.

Rel.: *is iat atat in-umir na n.* 436, *is tri halta atat isin meor* 6837.

AS: *intan atát* 841, *atát* 3937 (p.), 3941 (p.), etc., *atat tri sreín* 3929 (Li. p.), *atáit* 2871, 5985, etc., *atáit ceathra dabcha* 3925 (p.), *atáit mo lín a Cluain* 4447 (Laud, p.).

Duan. Finn: *atáid* 17, 31 and 35, 122.

Rel.: *Da mac Rig C. atáit a n-éccomlonn* 3155 (cf. *na tri náimde neoch ata* 6231).

With prep.: *inni dia tátit* 2770 (Fr.), *intí 'ga tátit sin* 896.

Mod.: *atáid, táid, tá siad*. Very recently a 3 pl. *tádur* has been formed in Connacht, but it is not a literary form.

REMARKS.

§ 27. The old form *atau*, *attó* seems to have gone out with O. Ir. Cf. for a late occurrence *atáu*, Trip. Life, *ito* SC. (Wi. I, 28). *Atú* survives until AS and later. The modern form (*a*)*táim* occurs three times in Duanaire Finn. It is also in Fierabras², early 15th cent.

With *-tá* the infixed pronoun survives till PH, e.g., *ní-s-ta* 5802. *Atá* is used as a relative³ in this text, and it is also common in that use in AS, and for both numbers. *Atá* is common after prepositions in AS, but it begins to be replaced by *-fuil*.

In 1 pl. *atámait* comes in for the first time in AS, where it is commoner than the shorter form. In 2 pl. *atáthi* has come in in PH, and is continued to Mod. Ir. In the 3 pl. *atát* generally gives place to *atáit* in AS.

¹ For *ata*.

² Cf. *ataim-si a dul* Fierabras § 14, Ed. Stokes.

³ In Wb 8a17 *ní sochude díib ataat and, ataat* seems almost in relative usage.

§ 28.

FII.

Sg. 1.¹ Gl. : (Dependent) *condumfel fo mām pectho* Wb 3^c38.

SR : **nimfai* (?) *bith inna hesleis*.

PH : No. instance.

AS : *isin bethaidh a filim* 1576 (for older *itú, hi-to*).

Cf. *ni fhuilim*, Duan. F. 4, 61 ; 24, 36.

Mod. : Depend. and Neg. *nílim, níl mé, go bhfuilim*, etc.

Sg. 2. Gl. :

SR : *con-dat-fil fo deilb diabuil* 1739, cf. *da-dot-fail fo dein toimdig* 1747.

PH : (interrog.) *in file it chorþ*, 8116, *tair asin croich a fhuile* 3335 (for *hitai*).

AS : *ara fuili at suidhe* 3217, (for older *hitái*).

Mod. : Keating *-fuile, -fuil tú*, spoken *-fuilir, -fuil tú (-ful tú)*.

Sg. 3. Gl. : (Dependent) *conidfil in indocbáil* Wb 24^a33.

Cf. : AU 758 *conid fail in adbai huire*.

Neg. : *conách fil etir*, 'so that it is not at all,' Wb 27^a20, *nífil fial etronn* Wb 15^a22, *nádfail* Sg 37^b19, *nad fel dliged* Ml 20^b10, *nicon fil frithorcain* 107^b8. With conjunctions : *cenodfil posit grecda do*, 'though there is a Greek positive to it,' Sg 192^b5, *cenudfil gním 7 chesad hisuidiu* Sg 209^b29, *manud fil etir á foraitmet leu* Ml 107^d12 ; (neg.) *cinid fil chairi linn* Ml 30^a2.

Rel. : *iarsin dligud fil hindiu* Sg 178^a3, *a ndechur feil etarru* Wb 33^b18, (pl.) *inna cialla fil and* Ml 26^c2, *is mór dithiden file domsa diib-si* Wb 26^d19, *ind huili doini file isin talam* Ml 51^d11. *a fil innar cridiu-ni* Wb 15^a7 ; (accus) *ni fél saithar n-ant* Ml 48^c29. *ni feil titlu remib* Ml 2^b4.

After .i. *fil ní de iar fir* Wb 11^d2.

Cf. *fil-us tre chenelae martre* Camb. Hom. 38^a.

Cf. *ni fil acht óen chomlaid n-airi Dá Derga* 27, *nísfil and* (fem.) ib. 137.

SR : (with 3 pers. infix. pron.) no instance.

Positive : *fail ann rig* 937, *fail bethu buan* 648 *fail leis secht nímí* 629. Cf. 637, etc.

¹ I have found it necessary to arrange the forms in this order owing to the later development.

Interrog. : *in fail tall mac n-Iessé* 5984.

Neg. : *ni fail . . . nech thucas* 333, etc.

Rel. : *cia arm sunn fil mac B.* 2942, *bess is mé fil for togaes* 2896 *meit fil in-escu* 298 ; *a fail do maith lár n-Dia* 649.

With preps. : *nem hi fail Fiadu* 636, *cia baile hi fail* 6135, 6137, *mad nofail d'ilphianaib ann* 933.

PH : Positive. No instance. Interrog. : *in fail I. innte* 3717, *in fil biad ocaib* 6709.

Neg. : *ni fil sund* 2970, 3566, *ni cofil i comand* (leg. *comang*) *do duine* 97, *is fir na fil celg lais* 786, *ni-s-fil nach cumang occa* 990, *nocon uil* 3181.

Rel. : *in crabud fil ocut* 3214, *do neoch fil etir neam 7 talam* 4344, *fil* 4234, 3527, 3986, and 40 other instances.

With perps. : *dia fhuil aige* 7637, *er a fhuil cengul* 7373, *olc ina fil* 7608, *mar a fil* 7506, etc.

With pron. : (cf. *ni-s-fil doba* 3887, *ni-s-fil sugrad* 7668).

AS : Positive : *fuil coma ar a tibursa* 2117, (*in muilenn rosmill*) *fuil re h-A.* 4878 ; *do fuil : do fuil a adbur sin acum* 3906.

Neg. : *nochan fuil* 862, *nil dom síl beo* 3709, *nochon uil ni* 3483, *nil a fis acaind* 2765 (Laud).

With preps. : *anní dia fuil* 1264, *cíd dia fuil* 2486, *adbud da fuil* 1404, *cáit a fuil* 5836, *iman carn a fuil in cloch* 5437. *a : a bhfuil aige* 516.

(Pl.) *tri coeca uingi fuil* 2744.

Cf. : *in lia glan fuil fo chennoib* Duan. Finn 31, 53, *fuil san chathraigh* ib. 23, 226. *in fert fa a bfuil Echtach* ib. 18, 33, also 22, 57 ; 35, 5.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *cini-n-fil lib* Wb 16^b9.

SR. : (γ) *at-ar-fuil cen duine trén* 3761, 'we are without an effective person.' (Cf. *nich-ar-fail tlacht* 1560, 'we have not raiment.')

(β) *ni failmet dar th 'airmítein* 6320.

PH : *co filem cen eslainte o sin cus indiu* 2780, *on gabud a filem . . .* 2885.

AS : *ni fuilmid-ne do lín* 5100, *cnoc so ara-fuilmid* 2477, *na muintire oca fuilmid* 5140.

Mod. : Keating *-fuilimid* : Connacht *-fuil-muid, -fuil sinn*.

Pl. 2. Gl. : *con-dib-feil i corp Crist* Wb 24^c4, *manudub-feil in-ellug* 19^c20, *nach-ib-feil* Wb 3^b19.

SR, PH : No instance.

AS : *cid uma bhfuilte dubach* 962 (Li.), Cf. *ara ffuiliti-se* Duan. F. 4, 68.

Mod. : -*fuilití* (cf. *Fierabras* § 69 *is follus co fuiliti eaclach*) ; -*fuil sibh*.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *ni-s-fil hodie* Sg 178^b2 ; *ni-s-fil leo* 208^b3.

Rel. : *inna cialla fil and* Ml 26^c2 ; *corofessid file cuimreacha formsa* Wb 23^a5, etc., cf. 3 sg.

Cf. : *in failet maic leis* Trip. Life 100, 12, *fuilit failet fair* Dá Derga 102, *filet* ib. 104, 112 ; generally *fil* 104, 105, 62, *condafil* ib. 70.

SR : *failet ann tri muir* 345, *filet ann brugi* 477, cf. 493, 497, 501, *failet in ifturn* 927. Rel. : *failet imon prīmcathraig* 400 (cf. *oc coistecht frit filet mna* SC, Wi. § 40).

PH : *co fhilet aimsera ann* 1072, *co filet fom cumachta* 2216, *co filet* 5325 *in filet ocaib dee* ? 431.

Neg. : *ni fhilet acht da la déc* 2536, *nach filet na demna fomamaigti*.

Rel. : *na huli filet inntib* 435, 1808, *galaraið filet* 1210, *na haingil filet* 1979 ; (a) *tri coeca uinge fuil* 2744.

With Prep. : *dorcha hi filet srotha, ca hadbar fa filet* 2761.

AS : (abs.) *filet tri tulcha acaind* 2765 ; *co fuilet mo muinter* 4093 ; with preps. : *cid dia fuilet* 2765 (Laud), *inni dia fuilet* 2854, 3116, *caid a filet sin* 2589, *créd da fuilet* 4768, *isin tigh a fuilet* 5048, etc.

Mod. : -*fuilid*, -*fuil siad*. Impersonal :—*fuiltear*.

REMARKS.

§ 29. In the older language, the personal relation was expressed by means of infixed pronouns. This gradually gave place to the personal endings of which we have early examples in Dá Derga, SC (Wi. § 40) *filet mna*, and ScM (Wi. § 12) *ni fuilet*. The instance *ica fuilet* LL133^b40 in a poem by Maelmuru of Fothan is probably due

to the MS. SR has already a 1 pl. *failmet* developed beside the older form with the infixed pronoun, which had become *ar*. *Filem* is the form in PH, and this again has given place, in AS, to the ending with palatal *-d*, *fuilmid*. The first instance I have of the first singular *-filim* is from AS, and here it has replaced an older *tá*. The second singular *fuile* is in PH, which is the form till Keating's time.

Of the 3rd singular *conid-fil* I have not met any relatively late instance. The essential function of *fil* as a relative begins to be usurped in PH¹ by *atá* and this is extremely common in AS where the instances are almost equally divided. There are some instances of *fuil* in relative usage even in the Duanaire. At the same time, *atá* after prepositions begins to be replaced by *-fuil* in SR² and the instances of the latter form are in the majority in AS.

§ 30. The last instance of the infixed pronoun is in PH, and this is 3 pl. The pronoun of the first plural had become *ar-* in SR, and is once used with *fil*='have.' Some of the instances of the pronoun plus *fil* in PH, have also that meaning.

The absolute of *fail* has spread very much in SR, but it seems to have soon again fallen away. There is no instance in PH and only one or two (*do-fuil*) in AS. The decisive instances of *fail* are still followed, in SR, by the accusative and in one case, *in fail tall mac n-Iesse* 5984, by the accusative *n-*.

§ 31.

Bíu.

Sg. 1. Gl.: *biuu-sa oc irbaig* Wb 16^d8, *intain no-m-biu oc irbaig* Wb 20^a3, *co mbiu i cuimrigib* 30^a22.

SR: No instance.

PH: *baile a mbiu* 8264; *bim-se ic attach* 6393.

AS: *otá biu* 7460. In *cá fat biussa* 7019 (p.), *biu* as used as a future.

Mod.: *bím*; rel. *mar bhím*, *nuair a bhím*.

¹ Cf. further LL 207a13 *a lucht atá as taig*.

² Cf. *airm hi fil* LU 33^b36.

Sg. 2. Gl.

SR : *nach bí-siu fri cete* 2035.

PH, AS : No instance.

Mod. : *bír, bíonn tú*.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *biid intinnscann* and Sg. 148^a11, *is i retaib nebaicsidib biid* spes Wb 4^a24, *is trisan dede sin biid duine slán* Wb 4^d33. *biid do anmaim na cathrach* Sg 104^b5.

Dependent : *nád bí iar fír* Ml 91^d1, *cona bi talam* and Ml 31^e29. Neg. : *ni bí cland dia n-æs* Ml 57^d6.

With *ro* : *huare rombí cechtar de sech alaill* Sg 29^b16, *ni rubí nechtar de cen alail* Wb 11^e17.

Impersonal : *bithir* Ml 56^b15 ; *intan mbither* Ml 108^b4, *i mbither* 100^e21.

Rel. : *inni bis fuam-mám* Ml 75^b6, *intan m-bis ar chonsain* Sg 6^a1, *amal mbis cometaid lam-maccu* Wb 19^e15.

SR : *bid grian in*¹ Capricornu 256, *da chubat bid il-lethet cech oen chláir* 4240 (rel.), *combí 'na chrichaib* 8140, *intan nad bi Adam hifos* 1193.

Rel. : *amal bis rothmol for luth* 199, *mairg bis fo crith jeidm* 958.

PH : *bid lestar fon usce* 6357, *bid in bas beo indsin* 7465, *combí trédenus i mbás* 3438, *asind lucc i mbi* 4100, *ni bí fognam* 7815. Impers. : *cein bither* 7441.

Rel. : *is me bis i fhiadnaise* 7194.

AS : *bith in tres fer marb* 5479, *bith éscá ann* 6300, *ni bí mí aca* 6300, *ní bí diamair di* 6859, *na bí* 6861, *cáit ambí* 1888. *a mbí* 434.

Rel. : *isse bis* 6299, (6297), *in neoch bis* 7678, *is ann bhis* 1889.

Cf. : *ar a mbí rath* Duan. Finn 10, 12 ; *maircc bhíos* 10, 2 (ib.).

Mod. : Keat. -*bi* ; rel. : *bhíos* ; spoken : *bíonn*, rel. : *bhíos*.

Impersonal : *bítheat, bítear*.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *cein mbimne in corpore* Wb 12^e11, *intan mbimne oca forbu* Ml 15^a4 ; *na biam i ngorti* Wb 16^a8 ; *inna imned sin i mbiam* Ml 21^e3.

¹ The use of *in* before proper names, as in Modern Irish, is noticeable. Cf. however *hi Taur*, 239 ib, *i Canceir* 244, *il-Leo* 245.

SR, PH : No instance.

AS : *bidmaid-ne ic faire* 5481, 7 *bímit* 886 (Li.)

Mod. : Keat. and Munster *bímíd* ; *bíomuid*, *bíonn sinn*.

Pl. 2. Gl. : No instance.

SR, PH, AS. : No instance.

Mod. : [*bíthí* rare], *bíonn sibh*.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *bíit alaile* and Wb 29^a28, *is for óin ndeilt bíit* Sg 201^b6
bíit a triur do anmairm Sg 93^a2 ;

Rel. : *bíte* ;

ní biat Sg 148^a4, *huare nad mbiat* 40^b14, *co mbiat fo deod*
212^a12, *fris-mbiat* 202^b3. *lasa mbiat* Ml 75^b2.

ro- : *robiat ar chuit folid* Sg 138^a5, *robiat síd cen*
áiraim Sg 71^b8.

Cf. : *bíit dano na ferta cos indiu* Trip. Life 170, 8.

SR : (rel.) *do biastaib bit cen blaid* 7259, *amal bíte 'na comsreith*
4898.

PH : *is mar sin bit in lucht* 7739 ; *ica mbít na rig* 4189. *na*
sualcha bíte ic deg-dóinib 5791.

Rel. : (a) *cathrachaib bíte co cloine* 6230.

(β) *foirend bit ic umaloit* 6223, *donlucht bit oc iarraid*
2006, *tigerna bit oc denum adbair* 7528, etc.

(γ) *foirend bís ina tost* 6222..

AS : *ind uair bid macraid* 7046. Rel. : *bidh* 451 [= *bít* LL,
206^a36.]

Mod. : *bíd*, *bíonn siad*, Rel. : *bhíos*.

REMARKS.

§ 32. The first person *bíu* survives until PH, where it is used side by side with *bím*. In the instance *ní bíusa reompo* AS 6179, *bíu* seems to be used in the sense of a subjunctive, 'I must not be before them,' 'I cannot be before them.' Should we compare the O. Ir. perfective present *ní rubi nechtar de cen alail* Wb. 11^e17 ? *Bíu*, for the first singular future, is common in Duanaire Finn, e.g., *ní bhiú mar dobha*, 'I shall not be as I was' Duan. XXV. 3, *ní bíu ag fer ib*. X, 6, cf. further III, 44, XVII, 78. Cf. § 39.

For 3 pl. relative SR has already *bit*, PH has *bíte*, but has also

the singular form *bis*. *Bís* which is used for the 3 pl. relative in *trí cnuasa bís* and LL 206^a40, is the form for both numbers in Mod. Ir. *bhíos*.

§ 33.

IMPERFECT (HABITUAL PAST).

Sg. 1. Gl. : *intan no mbiinn hi sóinmigi* Ml. 108^b1, *lase no-mbiinnse lasinni sin* Ml 58^d9.

SR, PH, AS : No instances.

Mod. : Keating *do bhí[dh]inn* ; spoken : *bhí[dh]inn, -mbí[dh]inn*.

Sg. 2. Gl.

SR, PH : No instances. AS. : *intan no-bithea i Cromghlind* 156.

Mod. : *bhítheá*.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *nobíth digaim leo* Sg 9^b10, *no-m-bíth* Sg 148^b6 ; *ní bíth chomdidnad domsa indib* Ml 62^b6 ; *combíth* 129^d15.

SR : *ba hé lín bíd na coemthecht* 4588.

PH : *nobíd oc forcetul* 876, *a ndithreua nobíd a oenur* 871, *co mbíd for gluasacht* 1732.

AS : *a mbíth Find* 6534, *ní bíth* 6593 ; (with pl.) *a mbíd fianna* 2621.

Rel. : *is se nobíth roim cach* 6580, *in lin no bhídh* 195, *slabrad robíd a comet* 2058.

Impersonal : *airet bíte ag ól* 1685.

Mod. : Keat. *do bhíodh* ; spoken : *bhíodh* (pron. *bhī-ú, bhī-uch, bhī-uf* ; before *s*, *bhíod.*).

Impersonal : *bhíthí, bhítí*.

Pl. 1. Gl., SR, PH, AS : No instances.

Mod. : *bhíomuis, bhimis, bhíod sinn*.

Pl. 2. Gl, SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Mod. : [*bhíthi* rare], *bhíod sibh*.

Pl. 3. Gl : *innahi nobitis dam huam chairtib* (rel.) Ml 86^d6, *nobitis oc timthirecht* Wb 10^d17 ; *ind luicc hi mbítis airdixi e 7 o* Sg 5^a15.

SR : *co mbítis ar dreich* 1124, *bitis fri gartglóir* 4527.

PH : *is ann bitis oc airtituid* 1030 ('tending his cattle') ; *nobítis oc tinol cloch* 1033, *o robítis oc innsaigid* 1957, *is iat nobitis ic umaloit* 6013 (rel.).

AS : *intan nobídis údair* 4664, 'authors used to be.'

Com-mbídis 3762, *áit a mbídis* 6043.

Rel. (a) *tri cnuasa bítis ann* 455.

(β) *ór naenbor curad no bhídh* 3623, *bachlaich . . .*

robíth 3796, *na heicne no bith* 3762, cf. 451.

Mod. : Keat. *dobhídís* ; spoken : *bhídís*. [*bhíod siad* rare]

rel. : *bhíod*.

REMARKS.

§ 34. The first person singular has undergone practically no change from the time of the Glosses until the present day. In Keating the *no-* has become *do-*, which is mostly dropped in spoken Irish. The 3 sg. is, in like manner, equally well preserved, but there is a considerable dialectal variety of pronunciation except before *s*.

In the plural *bítis* is generally replaced in relative usage by *bídh*, *bhídh* in AS. It has 3 pl. rel. *bítis* where LL 206^a40 (in the same poem) has *bís* for 3 pl. rel. A comparison of these poems is a considerable help in dating the Acallam.

§ 35.

PRETERITE AND PERFECT.

Sg. I. Gl. : *robá occ a n-aithisigiud* Wb 28^a9, *ciarud-bá in imniud* Ml 44^b19, *inna soinnmige hi-roba-sa* Ml 44^c4.

Cf. : *intan robá in-innsib mara* Trip. Life 128, 11, *robá oc aimless mo anma íb.* 124, 25.

SR : *ní raba cen chith* 1779.

PH : *isin fíis i mba* 445 ; *dobádus clam* 2790, *robádus dronnach* 2788.

AS : *ind aimsir do bádusa* 4415.

(b) *robádus* 2220, *robádusa a ndorus* 5018 : *nocho rabhasa* 1584 (p. Li.), *i rabadhus* 356.

Cf. : *intan roba* Duan. VII, 26, *a rabha* 23, 59, *a rabh* 24, 29, *do bhádhusa* 24, 1.

Mod. : Keating *do bhádhás* ; spoken : *bhíos* in all dialects, *bhí mé* ; *-rabhas*.

Sg. 2. Gl. :

Cf. : *olc robá rim* LL 125^a31.

SR : *ní maith ro-m-ba a Adaim* 1400. Cf. *mór n-ingen irraba féin chardes*¹ T. Ferbe 254.

PH : *carcair i rabádais ocaindi* 3725, *ní rabadais riam* 8121.

AS : No. instance.

Mod. : *bhídhis, bhí tú*.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *robói aimser nad rochreitsid* Wb 5^c10 ; *roboi frescissiu lesom* MI 60^a4, *bói són in potestate mea* Wb 10^d31.

Rel. : *ind fáilte robói dó libsi* Wb 16^b2, *as ndath glas roboi forsind sl[é]ib* MI 84^d4, *aní robói inchlidiu lat* 50^c13. *indaas rond-bói m'ingnae* MI 136^b7 ; *amal ru-m-bói Abram* 31^a3, *cia rud-bói aururus form* MI 2^a3, *ma ru-s-boi di humaldoit* Wb 28^d29, *ram-bái cach maith* 2^c13, *robui do for longais* MI 93^c3.

Neg. : *ní-robæ som ind ræ sin* MI 41^a5, *ní robe* 18^d7, *ní rabæ*, MI 28^d3, *dia robæ* Sg 197^a6, *i róbe* Wb 3^d23 ; *ní-m-rabæ* MI 73^c5, *ní-s-rabæ* Wb 33^b3. *olmbói dosom* Wb 9^c10 (pret. of *oldaas*), *imoi* MI 53^d6.

Cf. : *co rabái inna sessam* Hymns, Wi. I. 29n., *i rabai* Trip. Life 114, 10, *ní rabai* 136, 13, *irraba* 130, 26 ; 158, 17 ; *i raibi* 90, 18 ; *nad rabi* Fl. Br., Wi. I, 255, 6., *ní rabi* ib. 259, 10, 294, 20, 301, 9, *mani rabi* ib. 193, 27 ; *corrabi* 299, 20, *ir-rabi* 299, 22, *bale irrabæ* 275, 2, *ir-raibæ* 301, 19, *innád rubæ in scíath ocá imdegail* Dá Derga 149, *cor-rabi* SC 226, 17, etc.

SR : *robai ann fo thromthur thenn* 2229, *robái longas* 2378, *ri robai* 9 (rel.), *ised robæ in aes Nõe* 2262, *ro-m-bai mor*

¹ Notice aspiration. For examples of post-verbal aspiration, cf. Pedersen, Vergl. Gram. p. 456 ; also the following miscellaneous instances from LL, in every one of which the aspirated letter is *c*, probably after the analogy of aspiration of *cach* : *dia n-ana chelide* LL 247^a5, *co tuca chroib dam* LL 250^a33, *co ndigsat chairdes* 245^b-7, *no diuplad chath* 205^a1, *dogniat chori* 351^a3, *cia chenglaid chuicha* 307^b15, *ruadhas chru* 307^b26 ; *fil chairi linn* MI 30^a2. One also finds occasional instances of post-verbal aspiration of *f* and *t*, e.g. *ro addá theinid* AS 1378, etc.

dom' gaes 1907, *ro-n-bae biad ro-n-bae tlacht* 1557, *ro-sm-bái cennach* 3544, *nad robae* 7748, *nocho-r-rubai for laith lain* 1241 (leg. *flaith* ?), *corabe lomnoch* 1316, *bai Adam tri trath* 1041, *bói* 6734, *diam-bai* 7543, *dia mbui* 7740; *dia mba*¹ *imbrair* 3151 (leg. *dia mbai*).

PH: *roboi 'na rig* 2572, *o roboi* 1149, *roboi* 312, 331, 133, etc. *ina raibe se* 78 (497), *co raibe* 3139, *ir-raibe* 3886, *bui aroile fer in Ir.* 818, *bui dia noime* 552, *boi oc toirsi* 812, *ni boi arm la H.* 850; *a mboi de* 998.

AS: *roboi* 3726, *ma robói* 2106, *roboi triur* 5194; *robhui* 622, 625, *robhoi* 1879, *is amlaid ro boi* 3640; *doboi* 3535, 4471, 4782, *ni raibi . . . acht triar* 7308, *ni raibhe* 674, *ica raibhi* 1657, *arna raibe scís* 6584, *gu raibhe* 1080; *dobhi* 370, 562, 996, 1089.

Cf.: *ni raibhe* Duan. 17, 56, and passim, *roibh* ib. 23, 208 rhymes with *cathaibh*.

Rel.: *coica ban . . . bói* 5537, *lán duirn . . búi i láim* 2368, *dobhi* 275, 1911, 1981, 3547, 3553, etc.; *cia dobhi* 3697, *dobi* 4042 (rel. p.) *dam . . do boi* 2910, *ri robi* 3388, *cú . . robói* 3414, *roboi* 3733, 4111, etc.

Búi: *bui dibergach* 4049, *i mbúi* 250 (F.); *dit a mbai* 709, 709, *oca mbái* 1588, *dia mbói* 4739.

Mod.: Keat. *do bhí, raibhe*; spoken (*do*) *bhí, ni raibh* (M), *ni rabh* (Con., Ul.), etc.

Impersonal: Gl. *roboth* Wb 19^a9, 23^a26, cf. 5^b31.

SR: *inhd ro-m-bás 'con bailtheis* 7564; PH *robás* 830, 4750.

AS: No instance.

Mod.: *bhíothus*.

Pl. I. Gl.: *ar isin doiri robámmar* Wb 20^d12; *hi-robammar* M1 105^b16, etc.

SR: *cein bamar cen tarimthecht* 1558; cf. 3286, *bámar i cuimriuch* 3286.

PH: *cen bamar mar oen* 521, *bamar co teirt* 524, *bamar-ni for a ecla* 2996, *robamair-ne ic caithem, inud i mbamar* 1590.

AS: *robammar ann* 5661, *in seissir robammar* 5055 *i rabhumar* 1599, *dobamar* 4475, *dobhámar* 636, 638.

¹ Probably owing to the following *i*. Strachan includes here *ba sluag mor do lanamnaib* 2506, but this can well be copula 'it was a great crowd of the couples.'

- Duan. : *bámar*, *dobhammair-ne*, 2, 15, *robhámar* 21, 12, *dobhí sinn* 23, 91.
- Mod. : Keat. *do bhámar* ; late Mod. *bhiomar*, *bhí sinn*.
- Pl. 2. Gl. : *ce rubaid fo pheccad* Wb 3^b19, *hi-robaid* Ml 46^a8.
- SR, PH : No instance.
- AS : *ica rabhuir-si* 113.
- Mod. : (*do*) *bhiobhar*, *bhiobhair*, *bhí sibh*.
- Pl. 3. Gl. : *robatar cid ferte dia imthrenugud* Wb 24^c5, *issamlaid sin. robatar* Tur 14, *amal ro-m-bátar* Wb 30^e21, *cia rod-batar tirbithi aili forn* Wb 14^d13.; *ni rabatar* Sg 148^a9, *nad robatar* Sg. 4^b51 ; *nis-rabatar* Wl 100^e11, *cia batar deg-tacrae les* Tur. 81, *im-batar* Ml 55^e2.
- SR : *robatar sind amsir sin* 2348. *ir-robatar* 1490, *húair ro-m-batar* 1477, *batar fout* 1734. *até batar and* (rel.) 2937, *combátar lanaib lergaib* 6779.
- PH : *cia robatar* 3144, 7 *aimsir . . . i rabatar fáide* 3525, *batar* 15, 48, 49. etc. 78 instances.
- Rel. : *sruithe robatar rompa* 256, *na huli threlma batar* 65.
- AS : *ni cian robadur ann* 7291, *robadur-sum* 4482, *in lin robadur* 4482, *co rabhadur ar cuirp* 6495, *a rabutur* 321, *ir-rabadur* 4469 7 *do bhátur* 290, 7 *do bhadur ar . . .* 3717, 7 *dobatur* 4054 ; 7 *do bídur* 5942.
- Rel. (α) *in cethrar bátar a n-Eirinn* 2380, *daine bátar* 3921, *tri meic robadur* 2715.
- (β) *da raith do bóí* 4755, *coica ban is ferr bóí* 5537, *na fir dobói* 5816 *da assa . . . robí* 1127, *cethrar is ferr einech robói a n-Eirinn tri meic roboi* 6189.
- Duan. : *robhadar*, *dobhadar*, *batar*.
- Mod. : *bhiodar* (Keat. *do bhádar*), *bhí siad*.

REMARKS.

§ 36. The 1 sg. *-bá* is still preserved in PH (without *ro-*), and in the same text the new forms *dobádus*, *robádus* resembling *s-* perfects are introduced. The *d* has no etymological value here, and it is clear that it was merely introduced to separate the stem from the

new ending, cf. *i-rabadhus* AS 356, but *nocho rabhasa* 1584. The 2 sg. *roba* is preserved till SR, but in PH a new form with palatal *s* is formed from the first person like the 2 sg. of an *s*-perfect.

§ 37. In the 3 sg. the old forms *robói*, *bói*, *bái* are still common in AS beside a new *doboi*. The negative in AS has always *ro* as in Mod. Ir. A new form *dobhi* is mostly confined to the relative, and this must have been the starting point of the modern (*do*) *bhí*. The origin of the palatal *bh* is not clear.¹ One is inclined to think of the influence of the negative, thus *ní raibhe* and then *ri robí* 3388 and from that, *do bhí*. In *raibhe* also the palatal *bh* is difficult of explanation. PH and AS have almost always *-raibhe* corresponding to modern Munster *-raibh*, whilst the Glosses point to a non-palatal *bh* as in Connacht and northern Irish. *Robae* of the Glosses seems to have been becoming *-rabai*, *-raba* in the early 10th century as is evidenced by such texts as the Tripartite Life.² The change to palatal *bh* in *raibhe* which seems to have become the general literary form for all dialects, is peculiar. It might be possible to regard it as due to a double form of the diphthong, the palatal consonant pointing to the *ói* (Mod. *aoi*) form borrowed from the positive, whilst the other goes back to the old *óe*, *áe* of the negative *-robae* *-robe* of MI. Fled Bricrend shows a stage in this development in *-rabi* (Wi. I, 255, 6). The simplest explanation is perhaps the influence of the present subjunctive *-roib*, *-raib*, but here there was no final *-e*.

When *-bhí* had once become established for the 3 sg. it is easy to see how it would spread to the 3 pl. *bhíodar*, and then to the other persons. The instance 7 *do bídur* 5942, by itself, one might be inclined to attribute to the MS. (Laud), but such a form is quite possible beside the numerous instances of *dobhi*. Keating still writes the non-palatal *bh* in *dobhámar dobhádar*, etc., and, in the negative after *ro*, it is, outside *raibh*, universal in modern Irish.

¹ It may be possible to regard it as an analogical formation from 3 sg. of consuetudinal *-bí* or *bíd*. Then one would expect 1 sg. (*do*) *bhídhus* beside *dobadus* in texts like AS.

² Cf. Stokes, Introduction.

§ 38.

FUTURE.

Sg. 1. *bia oc precept* MI 60^e4, *is sunt bia-sa in-eilithri* MI 137^b7.

Cf. (*cian*) *biasa hi fus* Dá Derga 51.

SR : No instance.

PH : *biat-sa immalle frit* 1244, *biat-sa ic fortacht* 6825. *biat-su fen eterra* 6756.

AS : *a bhfiadnaisi P. biat* 2260, *biatsa* 6953; *cá fat biussa* (sic) 7019.

Cf. *ni bhiú mar do bhá* Duanaire 25, 3. *ni bhiú ar comairce* 3, 44, *ní biu ag fer* 10, 6, *nocha biusa* 17, 78; *ga fad bhíad sa riocht* so 8, 6.

Mod. : *béidhead, béad, bé(idh) mé*; Keat. *biaidh mé*.

Sg. 2. Gl. :

Cf. Trip. Life *bia-su fut gaiscid* 138, 12.

SR : *amal biae* 1599; *ni bia fo griis* 2047, *no co-bia . . . sunn i péin* 2043.

PH : *bia for neim* 420, *bia-su immalle frim* 3344, *co bia tú* 2893.

AS : cf. *in chéin bheir* 592 (Li. p. ; *comfad beir* Fr.).

Cf. : *biaidh tú* Duan. 8, 7, *biadh tú* 17, 58. Fier. *beir* § 35.

Mod. : *béidhir (béir), bé(idh) tú*; Keat. *biaidh tú*.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *bieid aimser nad creitfidir* Wb 28^e14, *bieid dúnni a ndede sin* Wb 28^a23; *bied* Wb 14^e1, *rom-bia buaid* Wb 11^a10, *ro-t-bia less log* 6^a11, etc., *arni bia senim iarsin* Wb 13^d18, *connacon bia foraitlmet nDe eter* MI 61^b12, *nicon bia* Sg. 29^b10.

Rel. : *is hed ón biás and* Wb 23^b38, *amal mbias* MI 30^d2.

Cf. : *biéid* Trip. Life 74, 21, *ni bía* 38, 16. *ni bia nech etarru* Dá Derga 30, *inum-bia-sa ib.* p. 8.

SR : *biaid fogur* 8021, *biaid in bith fo crithur* 8202; *biad* (leg. *biaid*) *araille . . . i ngradaib* 3275. *ro-t-bia grad* 3354, *nocho-for-bia airchra* 4064, *ro-m-bia* (leg. *ro-b-bia*) *mac* 1967, *for-bia for-n-eitheire fein* 3503, 'ye shall have your own hostages'; cf. 3511 *in cech uair for mbia*.

Rel. : *ri bias* 5045. Cf. impersonal *-bethir* LU 33^a41.

PH. : *biaid teine for lassad* 2284, *biaid se slán* 3705, *co mbia*

1809, *findat co mbia esergi* 1074, *ait na bia teidm* 2110, *ni bia* 2187, *ni co-mbia maith duit* 1812, *ni-s-bia eserge doib* 6594.

AS. : *biaid* 1320, 2420, 3007 ; *indus na bia* 4100, *ni bia* 6175, *nach bia* 7261, *imma mbia* 7270, *ga mbia* 2420, *cia uainn da mbia* 827.

Rel. : *gach ni bias* 3715, *cid sochaide bias* 6193, 5425, *in comfat bias duine* 6138 ; [*cid*] *fat[a] bes Cailte* 2068.

Impersonal : *ca fat beithier icá leighes* 5259.

Duanaire : *rod-fia tegh* 23, 215, *rod-fia comrac* 23, 46 ; rel. *bhías* 35. 92.

Mod. : Keat. *biaidh, bhias* ; spoken : *béidh*, rel. *bhías*.

Impersonal : *béithear, béifear*.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *bemmi-ni* Wb 9^c10 ; *is i Crist beimmi* 21^b7. *in biam fris* Wb 15^a1, *nípiam fri aithirgi* 30^b17.

Cf. : *beimi-ni cen áes* Trip. Life 28, 26.

SR : No instance.

PH : *cia hairet bemit* 1501.

AS : *bemaitne* 5432 (La. p.), *ní bém* 7333.

Duan. : *gidhbé áit a mbiam anocht* 19, 7.

Mod. : *bé(a)muid* (M. *béimíd*), *béidheam* ; Keat. *beimíd*.

Pl. 2. Gl. : *indas no-m-bied-si* Wb 9^a21, *ni bied-si hi cobodlus la suidiu* 9^b17, *ol a mbeid-si* Wb 26^d26, 'than ye.'

Trip. Life : *i mbeithi* 138, 7, *bethe isind usque* 182, 30, cf. 238, 23.

SR : *bethi . . . ir-richtain lessa* 3083 ; *bethi mairb* 1232, cf. 4062.

PH, AS : No instance [*bíthi-se*, AS 6139, is probably ipv.].

Mod. : [*béithi* rare], *bé(idh) sibh*.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *bieit a namait fo a chossaib-som* Wb 32^e13. *biet hi frecndairc* Sg 153^b4 ; *ni biat fo mam* Ml 134^d2. *ni biat i n-oentu* Wb 9^c28, *nadmbiet* Sg 40^b14.

Rel. : *niba cian mbete and* Ml 66^d14 ; *inna pian bete donaib pecthachaib* Wb 13^e26.

Cf. *beti fir hErenn ar crith* Trip. L. 152, 27, *mbeiti* 118, 17, 18, *beitit co brath* 120, 17, *beitit* 110, 25, *airet beti* Dá Derga 30, *airet beite* ib. 31.

SR : *biait fót* 835, *betit adhuatha* 8158, 'there will be horrors,'

beti dorchai 8157, *ni biat i n-oentaig* 1951, *hed beit mole fogris* 1435 (rel.), (cf. *beti cuirp i cossair* Ferb. 105).

PH: *beit na noim isin oirechus* 3649; *betit isin fechtnaigi* 1937; *atbeir co mbia triur* 7587 (leg. *biat*?).

Rel.: *foirend beit hi carcair* 6002.

AS: (β) *ni bia . . . mná bus tochu* 992 (Franc.).

Duan.: *beidid ann garrgadha* Gall 34, 6; *béid na leabhair ann* 34, 3 (4). *Beid*, G. ÓDálaigh, *Ériu* v., p. 56.

Mod.: Keating *biaid*, *beid*; spoken *béid* (*béidhid*), *bé(idh) siad*.

REMARKS.

§ 39. The sg. 1. *bia* has become *biat* in PH. AS has, in addition, a form *biússa*, which is common in Duanaire Finn; it was possibly a contamination¹ of *bia-sa* and the 1 sg. pres. subj. *beu*. This tense has in Con. Ir. *é(i)* throughout instead of *ia*, possibly from *é* in 1 pl.² The interchange of *ia* and *éi* before a palatal consonant in the 3 sg. would be simple. The *e* may well have spread from the new 2 sg. *bé-ir*, a subjunctive *-r* form introduced in AS. Keating has still an archaic (?) *biaidh* in 3 sg.

In the 1 pl., PH has palatal *m* whilst AS has a non-palatal one which is the Connacht form in Mod. Ir. The latter has also *ní bém* 7333, which still survives in Connacht (*ní bhé-am*).

§ 40. The 3 pl. forms *betit*, *beti* occur in Trip. Life, Dá Derga, SR, and PH. Cf. similar forms in Sc. L. Br. *beti and sin* (St. 5), and is *amlaid beti* § 29, ib. These forms may have been a development from 3 pl. rel. *bete*.

§ 41.

SECONDARY FUTURE.

Sg. 1. Gl.: *airet no-m-beinn isnaib innedaib* Ml 79^a22, *ni beinn isin doiri* Ml 131^d19.

¹ Cf. *ní biu-sa reompa* AS 6179.

² In Munster the *e* is short, e.g. *beg* (= *béidh* before vowel). Cf. Bergin, *Ériu* ii. p. 46.

SR. PH: No instance. Cf. *cáin beinn* [MS. *bienn*] *do Mac cecht Dá Derga* 144.

AS: *is ferrde do beind* 3204, *gidh fada do-beinn-si* 1377.

Mod.: Keat. *bheinn*; spoken: *bheidhinn*, *bheithinn*.

Sg. 2. Gl.: No instance.

SR, PH, AS: No instance.

Mod.: *bheitheá*.

Sg. 3. Gl.: *no-m-biad iar fír* Ml 126^c10, *ro-n-da-biad cech maith* Ml 33^b13, *ni biad étrad* Wb 9^a1.

Cf.: *ros-biad failti Dá Derga* 49; *eirged nech las mbeth* ib. 41.

SR: *ram-biad tír* 2792, *no-biad cen anmain* SR 6324.

PH: *iarmairt no-biad de* 4745, *ni-s-biad pian form* 8259.

AS: *ge bé nech ica mbiad pend: fada do biad ga scribend* 2894 (p.) *nach biad omun . . . orum* 5164; *nach biad* 3485, *ni biad* 6103, *do bhiath* 1796, *dobiad* 2139, *dobhiad* 352 (p.) *comad eacla ra biath fair* 6561, *ca ferr ainm da mbiath forro* 3501, cf. 7 *ca ferr ainm da mbeth¹ fair* 4435. *ca ferr ainm da mbiad ar* 6619. *ni beth díb duine* 6020; cf. 162.

Duan.: *na mbeith diol secht gcéad* 23, 20; *do bhiadh* 22, 50.

Mod.: *bheadh*; Keating *bhiadh*.

Impersonal: *bheithidhe* (pron. *věhí*.)

Pl. 1. Gl.: *no-bemmis* Ml 134^b3.

SR, PH, AS: No instance.

Mod.: Keat. and M. *bheimís*; Con. *bhemuis* (*bheithmuis*).

Pl. 2. Gl. SR, PH, AS: No instance.

Mod.: [*bheithí* rare], *bhead sibh*.

Pl. 3.: *inna debthe nobetis la Israheldu* 100^c7, *céin nombetis* Ml 58^a9.

Cf.: *o nobetis fír hErend in óen magin Dá Derga* 132.

SR: No instance.

PH: *is uait nobetis rig fair* 4040.

AS: (Cf. *cen no-beidis-sim beo* 2147 subj.)

Mod.: *bheidis*, *bhead siad*.

¹ So Stokes. Probably written in the MS. *mbí*.

REMARKS.

§ 42. The secondary future shows little change from O. Ir. to the present day. In the 1 sg. a *h* is often introduced in the pronunciation, before the ending, on the analogy of other verbs, where *f* becomes *h* in the pronunciation—e.g., *bhainfinn*, pron. *bhainhinn*, *d'éadfainn* pron. *déatainn*, and this serves as a distinction between 1 sg. conditional and 1 sg. past subjunctive. The 3 sg. is now *bheadh* (often written *bheidheadh*) pron. *vech*,¹ *ved*. The *d* of 3 sg. of verbs before *s*, is not an ordinary interdental *d*, but pronounced with the point of the tongue on the gum at the back of the upper teeth, like the Irish pronunciation of English *d*. This *bheadh* may have been taken over from the 3 sg. subjunctive *bethe* and there is evidence of confusion in LU (85a7) and AS—e.g., *ni, beth duin* 6020, and *ca ferr ainm da mbeth* 4435 written with the contraction for *et*. The form *bheith* survives dialectically (Roscommon, Mayo), but is confused with *bheadh* (*vech*). A 3 sg. *vech*, *ved* could also have been formed on the analogy of the other persons in modern Irish, but, as indicated, the development appears to be older. Keating still writes *bhiadh*, but there is no corresponding form preserved in Munster.

In 1 pl., the Connacht and northern form has its usual broad *m* and the Munster a slender *m*. The 3 pl. has remained unchanged with the exception of the loss of *no*-.

§ 43.

IMPERATIVE.

Sg. 2. Gl. : No instance.

SR : *bii impu* 5014, *bi hi tost* 1603, *na bi for snim* 3282, *na bi istsruth* 1682.

PH : *bi a tost* 1987, *bí i n-erlaim* 3819, *na bí cosmail fris* 8364.

AS : *bidh co heistechtach cailli* 600 (p. Fr.) ; *bid co féchsanach* 600 (p.).

Mod. : *bí*.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *bíid cach gním inna thechtu* Wb 13^a28, *bíith far cuit-si occa* Wb 11^b4, *na bíd taidchur dúnni* Wb 3^a14.

¹ With broad *ch*. In South Galway I have heard *o'ach* (*o'æch*).

SR : *nā bid for n-aittreib* 4417 ; *bid amne* 4421.

PH : *bid a fhis lib* 7689 ; *na bid immad erlabrai ocaib* 7839.

AS : No instance.

Mod. : *bíodh*. Impersonal : *bítear*.

Pl. 1. Gl. :

SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Mod. : (Con.) *bíom*, *bíomuid*, Munst. *bímis*.

Pl. 2. Gl. : *biid ersoilcithi* Ml. 46^a7, *biid amal rongabussa i ngním* Wb. 23^e11.

SR : *na bid for báis* 7988 ; possibly *na bid uamnaig* 4830.

PH : *bid-siu andsin* 624.

AS : 7 *in comfāt bias duine am degħaid-si bíthi-si* 6139 (fut. ?)

Duan. : *na bíthi* 17, 57.

Mod. : *bí[dh]idh*, often pron. *bígí*.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *biat amal idlu* Ml 130^a10 ; *biat* Ml 51^d13.

SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Mod. : *bídís*.

REMARKS.

§ 44. Modern Irish has developed a 1 sg. of the imperative, e.g. *bí(dh)im buidheach dhíom fein*, 'I may thank myself,' but this imperative is mostly used to strongly emphasise a supposition, as : 7 *bí[dh]im ag féachaint air, ar uaislibh Chonnacht(a) 7 bídhim 'mo cheannphort do dhéanfainn cleamhnas leat gan bó ná laogh*. In other verbs, this imperative has the same form as the 1 sg. present indicative.

In Munster, the past subjunctive and conditional ending *-mis* has spread to the 1st plural imperative ; in all the dialects the ending *-dís* has become general in the 3 pl.

§ 45. In the 2 pl. the *h* or *i* inserted before the ending has become *g*, thus *bídhidh*, pron. *bígí*. What appears to be an early development of this is *bíthi-si* AS 6139. In SR, the 2 pl. *na bid uamnaig*, where we should expect the copula, cannot, as far as the form is concerned, be distinguished from the substantive verb, and in view of the considerations discussed below (in Chap. II.) it may be

possible to take it as such. *Bid amlaid sin domela* PH 5344 seems also to be an imperative (of the copula) with a form like that of the substantive verb.

§ 46.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD. PRESENT.

Sg. 1. Gl. : (a) *imb i cén fa in-accus beosa* Wb 23^b41, *cia beo-sa hi carcair* Wb 29^d19; (b) no instance; *beu-sa* Ml 53^b8.

Trip. Life : *cén mbéo sa for nim* 116, 20.

SR : *cia beo i ngortai* 1540, *cein beo-sa* 1844; *in hed beo hi cri* 8004.

PH : *cén rabur-sa innti* 2716. Cf. *céin beor-sa beo* LL 203a44.

AS : *ní bíusa reompa* 6179 (pres. form), *co rabhar ann* 775.

Mod. : *go mbidhead, go (mur) mbí(dh) mé; go rabhad, go raibh mé.*

Sg. 2. Gl. : No instance.

SR : *cia bé hi tóss* 1607.

PH : No instance. AS : *in chéin bheir* 592.

Mod. : *go mbí(dh) tú; go rabhair, go raibh tú.*

Sg. 3. Gl. : *cia rubé cen ní diib* Ml 20^d4, *risíu robáe cland less* Wb 29^d23, *arna roib éicndag ind raith diadi* Wb 29^a7; *con-roib deserc leu fri cách* Wb 26^d22, *co[n]don roib* 20^e14, *cia beith soilse isind lau* Ml 108^a11, *ma beith nech and* Wb 13^a4, *mani bée dechur isint senmuim* Wb 12^e43; *mani-sm-be bethu* Wb 13^b20; *ona bæ níi* Wb 11^d8, *arna bæ etir* Wb 25^d26. Impers. : *cia bethir* Wb 5d33, cf. Ml 107d8.

bes : as ndífulai[n]g . . ní bes á fín Ml 77^d3; *condib réil less ind inne bess and* Wb 27^b27; *ambess* Wb 5^d14.

SR : *cia beith slog mor foib* 1237, *cia beith* 5997, *mani mbé sét* 2086, *cona raib accaib d'intluicht* 1252, *na raib form* 1584, *arna raib digal for slóig* 1743, *co rob linni búaid* 5499.

PH : *ce raib se ina fhir* 7324, *mina raib dearc accum, cona rab* 3283, *mine rab deirc accum* 5910, *co rab* 7250, *día mbe nech i n-indlobru* 4982, *día mbe* 6034, 6041, *mina be* 4120.

Sg. 3. AS : *oiret rabh grian ar deiseal* 520 (p.) *cona raib súil* 5286, (6294), *da raib a fis accaínd* 6119, *da raib* 6294, *acht na*

raib 6I95, *dá rabh ocumsa* 80, *noco mbia som tri bliadna* 5285.

Mod. : *go mbi[dh]*, *go raibh* ; Keating *dá raibhe*.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *cia beimmi-ni in fide* Wb 19^a6 ; *dia mbem-ni hí combás* Wb 24^a10, *robam i flathemnacht* Wb 26^c10.

SR : *ní ruibem cen rig* 5440.

PH : *co rabum-ne co noem* 7 *co nem-hélnide* 7899, *dia mbemm i n-itaíd* 5814 ; *céin bemm i fus* 7901.

AS : No instance.

Mod. : *go (muna) mbidh-muid*, *-sinn* ; *go rabhmuid*, *go raibh sinn*.

Pl. 2. Gl. : *robith in-indocbáil* Wb 26^a28, *mad in chruth sin beithe* Wb 18^b16, 24^b13, *co bethe-si ut sum* 19^a19, *ní beith si* Ml 46^a10.

SR : *cia bethi com-meit for mbla* 1233. Cf. LU 32^b48 *tait-si co mbethi*.

PH : *cia rabthai-si oca iarraid* 1977, *co rabthai i frecnarcus Dé* 2414, *is coir dib-se co rabthai do rér na rig* 4081, *cid i cúimce rabthai* 5606.

AS : No instance.

Mod. : *go mbi[dh] sibh*, *go raibh (rabh) sibh*.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *ce rubet i péin* Wb 26^a23, *robát i n-ellug coirp crist i n-nem* Wb 29^c8. *ma beit* Sg 40^a21, *cia beit inna corp* Wb 11^d11. *mani-bet andiis* Ml 14^c4.

bete : *bete banscala occ ar timthirect* Wb 10^c22.

SR : *cia beit fri brig* 2669.

PH : *co rabhut isin cadus cetna* 994, *dia rabut ina comairsin do* 7449 ; *is coir do chach co raput faen futhib* 7 *cor-rabat dia rér* 4068, *dia mbet fo'm chossaib* 761, *dia mbet da fhiadain oca forgell* 3374, *dena . . . co mbet fo thorud* 1254.

AS : *da rabhat sunn . . . clann* 6656, *no go rabhat mo sheoit* 1069 *cia bet andiu cen cinaidh* 4764 (Fr.) *ge bet indiu* 3721 (Fr.), *cia beit* 4766 (Fr.).

Duan. : *dia mbeitt fir Eirionn cugad* 23, 41.

Mod. : Keat. *dá rabhaid* ; *go mbi[dh] siad* ; *go rabhaid*, *go raibh siad*. Impersonal :—*bítear*.

REMARKS.

§ 47. The 1 sg. *beo*, *beu*, is preserved in AS in the form *bīu-sa* 6179, whilst the deponential *beor* is introduced in I.L. The origin of the modern *go mbidh* forms is not clear. They seem to show a displacement of *-bé* by the pres. *bí* forms. It is noticeable that *bīusa* (with long *ī*) is used as subjunctive in AS, and this may have spread to the 3 sg. *-mbí(dh)*. The *-mbidh* forms are now confined to Connacht and northern Irish. *Go raibh* is the optative form and is also used dialectically for *-mbidh*. It may be pointed out that *dá* with the present subjunctive is used till the time of Keating, but now *dá* always takes the past subjunctive. The ending *-e* of *raibhe*, in Keating, is obviously artificial.

§ 48.

PAST SUBJUNCTIVE.

Sg. 1. Gl., SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Duan. : *muna beinn budh-dheine*.

Mod. : (*go*, *mur*) *-mbeinn*, *-mbeidhinn*.

Sg. 2. Gl. : *cíd no-m-betha im etarceirt* Wb 4^c24.

SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Duan. : *da mbethea* 30, 3.

Mod. : *-mbeitheá*.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *armbad hi tempul Dæ nobeth* Ml 47^c11, *coir cid caritas nobed i tossuch* Wb 20^b22 ; *nibo decming rombed imthanad hisuidib* Wb 21^a13, *orobad torbe dúibsi triit* Wb 17^a13, *arna beth aní immefolangar treæ dosom* Ml 88^b15, *mini-bed cróis* Wb 9^d1, *dorochóinset arn-da-beth in tair[i]sem* Ml. 131^e9, *act nibed uall and* Wb 10^b27.

Trip. Life : Impersonal *arambethe iccon airi* 238, 23.

Dá Derga : *combad sé nobeth and* 55, *7 cé nobeth* 132.

SR : *arna beth fo chleth* 1999, *ce nobeth cet mili fer* 929, *riasiu nobeth bith* 7851, *amal nobeth fri idnú* 3028.

PH : *dia mbeth mo chumachtu fort* 1376, *dia mbeth ecla formsa* 2383, *co mbeth aice* 60, *arna beth fén cen imrádud* 878, *mine beth cumachta occu* 2654, *mani beth borb* 4656, *cía beth do mét mo hirse* 5912.

AS : *da mbeth sunn nech* 7923, *da mbeth accainde* 7262 (976),
gia beth 1588, *ge beth* 2412, *acht co mbeth* 6559, *gin gu beth*
 7822, *muna beth sin* 3484. *dus cid *rabiad* 3864.

Duan. : *día mbeith* 23, 221, *mona beith* 35, 17, *céin do bhiadh* 1, 24.

Mod. : Same as Secondary Future.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *amal no-m-bemmis érchóilti* Wb 9^a3 ; *risiú robeimmis*
etir Wb 29^a23.

SR : No instance.

PH : *combad ann nobemis* 5007.

AS : *gidh cian do bheimís* 1447.

Mod. : *-mbe(a)muis. -mbe(a)d sinn.*

Pl. 2. Gl. : *et ní *bethe fria acre* Wb 9^c20.

SR : No instance. Cf. *cenco beth sibsi sund* Ferb. 115 (Wi. III).

PH, AS : No instance.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *ní arindí no-m-betis cid in biuc* Sg 39^a25, *ce chonistis*
nombetis ar chuit analoige Sg. 138^a9. *resiu robetis im*
gnais Ml. 58^a7 ; *co mbetis i ndoiri* 34^a9.

SR : *siu nobetis moini* 7855, *arna-betis for imluad* 4482.

PH : *amal bid hi cotlad no-betís* 1011.

AS : *dá mbeitis* 2004, 7551, *acht muna beitis* 6223. *7 da mbeidis*
fir . . . ar oenlathair 6019.

Duan. : *mar do beittis* 35, 34.

Mod. : *(da)-mbeidis. Impersonal : -mbeithi(dhe).*

REMARKS.

§ 49. Of the 1 sg. I have no early instance. For the modern form, cf. remarks on Secondary Future. The 3 sg. *-mbeth* shows very little change in Mod. Ir. *mbeadh* (pronounced *mech, med* before *s*), and *-mbeith*. AS shows confusion with the conditional in *dus cid rabiad* 3864. In Mod. Ir. the subjunctive (in case of all verbs) is only used after *muna* (*mur*), *acht go, nó go, dá, sul* (=old *résiu*). The lengthening of the *i* before *s*, in the 3 plural, in PH and AS is noticeable. The reason for this lengthening is not clear.

CHAPTER II.

THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB WITH THE ADJECTIVE.

§ 50. As I have already noted, in an article in the *New Ireland Review*¹, one of the peculiarities of (a)*tá* as distinguished from *is*, in Modern Irish, is its non-use with certain classes of adjectives. In Old-Irish, as is generally known (cf. Strachan, *Substantive Verb*, p. 51), the substantive verb is not, with a few special exceptions, used with an adjectival predicate at all.

§ 51. In the present chapter, I deal with the origin and development of the modern use of *tá* with the adjective. Before investigating the Old- and Middle-Irish conditions, I shall give :

1. A statement of the modern usages of *is* and *tá*, together with an arrangement of the various classes of adjectives as regards their use with the substantive verb.

2. A comparison of the usages of Irish *is* and *tá* with those of Spanish *ser* and *estar* respectively.

3. A recapitulation of the root forms of the verbs of existence in O. Ir. and a short account of their application.

I. IS AND 'TÁ IN MODERN IRISH.

§ 52. We have in Mod. Ir. side by side two verbs (a)*tá* and *is* of which the usages will be clear from the following examples :--

1. *Tá* is used

(a) To denote existence, as *an té a bhí agus atá agus a bhéas go bráth*. *Tá*, to express existence, is now generally supplemented by *ann*, as *tá daoine ann ar mhaith leo gach uile sórt a alpadh chucu féin*, 'there are people who wish . . .'; *tá a leitheid ann*, 'there is such a thing.' Cf. also *bíonn an dearmad ann*. Hence this usage generally falls together with (b).

(b) To denote location or position : *tá an capall ar an tsráid*, 'the horse is on the street,' *tá sé istich sa teach*, 'he is within in the house,' *má tá faichios ort caith dhíot é*.

(c) With *ag* to denote occupation or action : *tá sé ag baint an*

¹ Dublin, May, 1903.

fhéir, 'he is cutting the grass,' *tá sé ag dul abhaile*, 'he is going home,' *tá sé ag éalodh as*, 'he is fading away.'

(d) With *ag* to denote possession: *tá sgian aige*, 'he has a knife.'

(e) With *le* to denote purpose, application, success: *tá sé le* (O. Ir. *fri*) *teach a dhéanamh*, 'he is to build a house'; *béidh sé leis go millidh sé* (go *ndéanaidh sé*) *é*, 'he will be at it until he destroys it (does it).' *Tá sé leis le fada*, 'he is at it for a long time' (O. Ir. *occa*); *tá leat*, 'you have managed it,' 'you have succeeded in doing it.'

(f) With an adverb of manner: *tá sin amhlaidh*, *tá sin mar sin*, 'that is so'; *tá sé i ndroch-chruth*, 'he is in a bad way.'

(g) With adjectives: *tá sé réidh*, 'it is finished.' This I shall deal with further on.

(h) The construction (a) *tá sé ina rígh* 'he is king,' will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

§ 53. The above are instances of the principal usages of *tá*. In all these cases *tá* can be replaced by the other parts of the substantive verb, *bíonn*, *bhí*, *bheadh*, *-fuil*. The following are miscellaneous examples: *an té bhíos thíos buailtear cos air*; *an té bhíos ar an talamh*, 'he who is on the ground'; *an sionnach a bhíos 'na cholladh*, 'the fox that sleeps'; *an muilíonn a bhíos ag síor-mhíll*, 'the mill that is continually grinding'; *an té nach bhfuil bóllach ar chnoc aige*, 'he who has not live-stock on a hill'; *an té nach bhfuil léim aige*, 'he who cannot¹ jump'; *an dreoillín a bhí ag bualadh an choirce*, 'the wren that was threshing the oats'; *bíodh mo bheannacht leat*, 'my blessing be with thee' = 'good-bye'; *bí 'un tosaigh ag dul an choill*, 'go in front in a wood'; *bhí sé i bpéin*, 'he was in pain,' etc.

2. *Is* is used

§ 54. (a) In equating two persons or things as: *an tú Séamus?* *Is mé*. 'Is that you, James? Yes.' *Is mise an Síodhuidhe suarach*, 'I am the insignificant sprite.' *Is mé an bád dár réabadh an seol*, 'I am a boat of which the sails have been torn away.' *Budh tusa mo roghain* (choice), *is maith in teoruidhe an t'anró*, 'trouble is a good guide.'

(b) To give some permanent description of a person or thing, as:

¹ We may compare the common construction *tá Gaedhilg aige* 'he can speak (lit. 'he has') Irish,' *tá amhrán aige* 'he can sing,' *tá snámh aige* 'he can swim.'

Is breágh an fear thú, 'you are a fine man'; *is maith an capall é*, *is dona an duine thú*, *b'olc an lá é*, *is olc an talmhaidhe mé*, 'I am a bad husbandman.'

A particular case of this is its use

(c) In comparisons :

Is luaithe í ná an ghaoth, 'she (it) is fleetier than the wind'; *ní fearr an cat ná an coimhead*, 'the cat is not better than the guard'; *ní mó é ná an t'anró*, 'it is not better than the trouble (got from it).'

(d) With *le* to denote possession : *is leis an sgian*, 'the knife is his.'

As will be seen from the above examples, the main difference between *is* and *tá* is that *is* represents a permanent or abiding quality or is used to assert an identity, whilst *tá* represents existence of a temporary condition or position.

§ 55. This fundamental difference will be best understood by a consideration of the use of *is* and *tá* with adjectives. The following are examples :—

<i>is olc an lá é</i>	but	<i>tá an lá go holc</i> , 'the day is bad (rough)'
<i>is maith an fear é</i>	,,	<i>tá an fear go maith</i> , 'the man is good.'
<i>is deas in duine é</i>	,,	<i>tá sé go deas</i> , 'he is nice.'

It is not possible to say, in correct Irish, *tá an fear maith*, *ta sé deas*, in other words, a predicate to be used with *tá* must be made into an **adverb**. As, however, we find abundant examples in Mod. Ir. of adjectives used with *tá* it will be necessary to give some definition of the adjectives which can be so used. As regards their use with the substantive verb, adjectives may be divided into the following three principal classes :—

§ 56. I.—The **-ach and Participle** class. This class consists of adjectives denoting a temporary condition. They can be predicated by *tá* :

<i>Tá an fear brónach</i>	} May also be expressed	{	<i>Tá sé fá bhrón</i> , (or) <i>tá brón air</i>
<i>Tá an chaora tinn</i>			<i>Tá tinneas ar an gcaoirigh</i>
<i>Bhí sé buadhartha</i>			<i>Bhí buaidhreadh air, bhí sé fá bhuaidhreadh.</i>
<i>Béidh an capall tuirseach</i>			

II.—The **Permanent attribute** class. These cannot, as adjectives, be predicated by *tá*.

PREDICATION :

*Tá an fear go maith**Tá sí go breágh**Tá an teach go deas*

CLASSIFICATION :

*Tá sé ina fhear mhaith**Tá sí ina mnaoi bhreágh**Tá sé ina theach dheas.*

Tá an teach go deas emphasises the *house* as distinguished from the *church*, the *barn* or something else. *Is deas an teach é* emphasises the *deas*—that is, not ‘ugly,’ and *is teach deas é* emphasises the *é*, ‘this particular house.’ *Tá an teach go deas* also carries the meaning ‘the house is nice now,’ ‘the house is nice in its present condition.’ Another expression, *sé an teach deas é*, is used as a formula of praise by implying that there is only one ‘nice house’ and that *this* is the one.

III.—The **méid or measure** class.*Tá méid mhór sa teach*, the house is large.*Tá leithead maith ann*, it is fairly broad.*Tá meadhachain maith innte*, it is heavy.

Adjective

*mór**leathan**trom.*

We may compare

*Tá dath dearg ar in leabhar**Is dath dearg atá ar in rós**Is rud dearg rós (Is dearg an rud rós).*

§ 57. In class II the adjective and noun form a closer identity, and thus they both may be taken together and classed as a new group. We have a difference of meaning between *is maith in fear é* or *is fear maith é* and *tá an fear go maith* (cf. above). In the first case the ‘man’ is put as belonging to the group *fir mhaith*, in the second case he is taken as if he had proved himself to be ‘good’ (*go maith*), which was, as it were, before doubted. The whole process may be expressed thus: that an adjective must be turned into an adverb in order to be predicated by *tá*. The phrase *tá sé ina fhear mhaith* coincides with this conception, because *ina fhear mhaith* may be regarded as an adverbial phrase denoting condition. But of this later.

Other words denoting permanent qualities are: adjectives of colour, such as *dearg*, *bán*, etc., and they may be classed under this head. We cannot, for instance, say *tá an plúr bán*, ‘the flour is white,’ because *bán* is considered a permanent condition as regards *plúr*, it has not *become* white. In the same way, from the Irish standpoint, it would be thought redundant to say *tá an rós dearg*, ‘the

rose is red,' because if it is a red rose it is permanently red. The correct way of expressing this fact would be *is dath¹ dearg atá ar an rós*. Another formula is *is rud dearg fuil*, 'blood is red.'

§ 58. An apparent exception is such a phrase as *tá do phíopa dearg* (=deargtha), 'your pipe is kindled.' But this is not a real exception as *dearg* here is the **result of an action** and it comes moreover under the head of **temporary condition**. Similarly may be treated *tá an talamh bán le aol aige*, 'he has made the land white with lime.' Another application of *bán* is *tá an talamh bán*, 'the land is waste'—i.e., *bánuighthe*. Similarly *bhí an spéir dubh*—i.e., 'black with clouds, birds, etc.' Compare *go dtéidhidh na spéartha dubh tré néaltaibh*, ACG, p. 9, 'until the sky becomes dark.'

§ 59. In all these instances, an adjective must be either turned into an adverb, or be one that can be used with verbs, or denote either the result of some action or a temporary condition. These are the modern conditions of the use of the adjective with *tá*. Adjectives denoting the result of a recent action are the **participles**—e.g., *tá sé claidhte*, and those denoting a temporary condition are the **adjectives in -ach**, such as *gnothach*, 'busy.'

§ 60. In order to more fully illustrate the use of the adjective with *tá*, I give the following miscellaneous examples:—

An té atá saor caithead sé cloch, comhairle chomhgarach (convenient) *bíonn sí neamh-chailleánach, má bhíonn tú bocht ná bí tuatach* ('mean'), *tá sé stuacach, bhí sé beo tapaidh* (active), *murab fhuil sé díreach caithfe sé a beith cam, béidh sé mall, béidh a anam slán, ní bheithé sásta* ('satisfied'), *an té a bhíos sáthach, ní bhéidh sé críonna go bráth, tá mé buidheach dhíot*, etc.

CLASS III.

§ 61. As regards the third important class which consists of adjectives of weight, measurement, etc., we have here practically no predication by *tá*. These adjectives refer to a definite amount of a varying quantity, and the Irish form of expression is that the object in hand contains a greater or less amount of such a quantity or dimension, as : *tá airde mhór ann*, 'it is very high,' or 'he is very

¹ Cf. *as ndath glas roboi forsind sléib* MI 84d4.

tall'; *tá meadhachain maith sa mála*, 'the bag is heavy,' *nach beag an leithead atá ann*, *atá leithneacht mhór san abhainn*, *tá fad breágh ann*, etc. This way of expressing the idea: *tá leithneacht mhór san abhainn*, is in accordance with an important principle in Irish that **the leading or special idea must be brought forward to the beginning of the sentence**. One can also say *is abhainn (abha) leathan í*, 'it is a broad river.'

In making general statements, a convenient form is the use of *rud*, as, *is trom an rud cearc i bhfad*, 'a hen is a heavy thing when carried for a long distance.' (Proverb).

SCOTTISH GAELIC.

§ 62. The use of the copula and substantive verb in Scottish Gaelic is practically the same as in Modern Irish, as is shown by the following examples from Scottish poetry:—

(a) Copula.

§ 63. *Ach fhir as curranta lamh Màiri Alasdair Ruaidh*, p. 26, *fhad is beo mè ar thalamh*, *Mo chailin donn òg*,¹ *'m fad 's a's beò mi*, *Màiri bhòidheach*.

bu bhreac mìn dearg do ghnuis. *M. Alasdair Ruaidh*,² p. 26. *bu tric a ghabh mi*, *Soraidh slàn le Fionn-airidh*, *bu tu mo cheud leannan* *An cluinn thu*, *leannain*, *bu toil leò ceol*—*Moladh na Landaigh*, *bu glan na bruachan*—*An t-Eilean Muileach*, *an t' eilean Muileach* *bu lurach beannaibh*—*An t-Eilean Muileach*, *bu shocair sèimh a chaidilinn*—*Clachan Ghlinn da Ruail*, *'s ged bu rìgh mi*—*Màiri bhòidheach*.

(b) The Substantive Verb.

§ 64. **With prepositions:** *am bròn 'tha ndiugh air m'intinn*—*C'áite'n caidil an Rìbhinn*, *bìdh* (fut.) *mo ghaol ort gach là*—*Gur trom trom mo cheum*, *nach robh mi fhìn ann*—*C'áite 'n caidil an Rìbhinn*, *nuair a bha mi ann ad làthair*—*Mo nighean donn bhòidheach*, *bhiodh na lachan air an tsnàmh*—*Moladh na Landaigh*, *chaoidh*

¹ From *The Celtic Lyre*, a collection of Gaelic songs, by Fionn (Edinburgh).

² From *The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, Mackenzie.

bith'd tir na mbeann air m'aire—An Gaedheal 'sa leannan, *na'n robh thu leam*, 'if thou wert with me'—C'àite 'n caidil an Rìbhinn.

Various : *bha mi deas*, 'I was south'—C'àite 'n caidil an Rìbhinn, *bidh mi 'cuimhneach ort gu bràth*—Soraidh slàn le F.

With adjectives : *Ach gur mis' tha bochd truagh*—M. Alasdair Ruaidh, p. 26, *ged tha Stiubhartaich beachdail*—Cumha do MhacLeod, p. 25, *tha mo leannan dreachmhor dìreach* A' mhaighdean àluinn, *ged 'tha 'n Landaiddh creagach ciar*—Moladh na Landaiddh, *gaol bhìodh fìrinneach buan*—Gur trom trom mo cheum, *cò 'n a cuideachd a bhìodh brònach*, 'who in her company would be sad'—A mhaighdean àluinn, *a 'ghruag tha bachlach dualach riòmhach*, C'àite n' caidil an Rìbhinn, *na sìuil tha togta*—MacLeod, *tha thu ro-arda os cionn gach aon diubh*—Màiri bhòidheach.

's bithinn dìleas rim bheò—Gur trom trom mo cheum, *'s ann bhios mo smuaintean diomhaireach*—Clachan Ghlinn da Ruail, *cha bhithinn brònach*—C'àite 'n Caidil an Rìbhinn, *gu mbithinn beo*—Mo rùn geal.

gu bheil mi dubhach cianail—Mo nighean donn bhòidheach, *ged nach eil e ro-dhearbhta* Cumha do MhacLeod, p. 25.

gu'n robh ise fallain slàn, 'Ghrugach dhonn, *bha sud sgriobt' leat*—M. Alasdair Ruaidh, 26, *gur ioma fuil morgha bha reota sa chorp ud*—Cumha do MhacLeod, p. 25, *'s tric a bha sinn cridheil còmhla*—A' Mhaighdean àluinn, *saoil sibh fhèin nach mi 'bha truagh dheth*—Am fleasgach donn, 'ye thought that I was not sad therefrom.'

cha dual dhomh bhi slàn—Gur trom trom mo Cheum, *'se gaol a bhi mòr*—Mo chailin donn og. *d'a bu dual a bhi còir*—M. Alasdair R. 26.

* § 65. **Ina :** *ged a bhìodh gach là na shamradh*—An Gaedheal 'sa leannan, *chionn's go bheil gach gleann ina fhàsach*—ib.

§ 66. We find occasional divergencies¹ from the Irish construction such as *tha'n latha math 'san soirbheas ciuin*—Soraidh slàn le F. (Dr. MacLeod), *mar tha mi gu tinn gad ionndrainn*—An cluinn thu leannain, *Tha cneas mo ghráidh geal mar chanach tlá nan glac*—M'Coll, Gaelic Poetry, p. 357. We have instances of this in Irish

¹ My friend Dr. Quiggin tells me that in the Hebrides in several phrases *is* is replaced by *tha*.

in such phrases as *mo bhrón ar an bhfairge is é atá mór*—Love Songs of Connacht, p. 28.

A COMPARISON OF IRISH *is* AND *tá* WITH SPANISH *ser* AND *estar*.

67. We have seen in the preceding section, that there are, in Modern Irish, certain classes of adjectives which can be used with *tá*—viz., adjectives denoting a temporary state or condition. There is another language—namely, Spanish, which has a parallel condition of things in its double form of the verb “to be,” where the usage is so similar that it may be interesting to compare it here. The two verbs in Spanish are :

(1) *ser* < **essere*,¹ Lat. *esse* from a root *es-*, whose forms are mixed with forms of *sedere*. (2) *estar* from Lat. *stare*, ‘stand,’ which correspond respectively to Irish (1) *is* < **esti*, cf. L. *est*, HG. *ist*, and (2) *atá* O. Ir. 1 sg. *atāu* < *ad-stāiō*, cf. L. *stō*, ‘stand.’ If the constructions of the two languages in the case of these two verbs are compared it will be seen that they coincide, step by step.

I. In Spanish *ser* is used :

1.—To connect a subject with its predicate or to equate two descriptions of the same person or thing as : *soy irlandés*==*is Éireannach mé*, *soy hombre*==*is fear mé*, ‘I am a man,’ *es bobarrón*²==*is bobarrán é* (or *tá sé na bhobarrán*).

2.—To indicate some permanent characteristic of the subject as : *esta rosa es blanca*==*is dath bán atá ar an rós*, *is rós bán é*.

3.—To denote possession or use : *este bastón es de Juan*==*is le Seán an maide seo*.

4.—In phrases like : *de donde es usted* ?==*cia’r b’as thú*, ‘where are you from ?’

II. *Estar* is used :

1.—To denote a temporary condition, as : *el niño está enfermo*==*tá an naoidheanán tinn*.

2.—To indicate position, as : *mis padres están en Madrid*==*tá*

¹ The subjunctive contains forms of *sea*, older *seya*, from *seer* ‘to sit’ L. *sedere* ; also gerund. *seyendo* (*siendo*).

² The Irish word *bobarrán* (‘a stupid, ignorant person’) must be a borrowing, probably during the 16th century.

mo mhuintir i Madrid ; la casa de mio amigo está muy lejos de la ciudad : *tá teach mo charad i bhfad ón mbaile*.

3.—To denote activity : Juan estaba leyendo, *bhí Seán ag léigh-eadh* ; el trabajo está aun por hacer, *tá an obuir go fóill le [gan] déanamh*, 'the work is still to be done.'

68. The points of resemblance between the constructions of the two languages might be more fully and minutely discussed, but as each language has its separate construction in other respects, it must be built according to its own idiom. Thus the similarity¹ between the two languages cannot be forced beyond a certain point, for example : el hombre está dormido : *tá an fear ina cholladh*, for here Irish has this particular construction.

Similarly, owing to the formation of the Irish adjective : es tarde, 'it is late,' but *tá sé deireannach*.

3.—A RECAPITULATION OF THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE VERBS OF EXISTENCE IN OLD IRISH.

§ 69. In the foregoing I have set forth the usages of the copula and substantive verb in Mod. Ir. It remains to investigate the origin and development of these usages in Old- and Middle Irish. In what follows I give a brief account of the different forms of the verbs of existence and their usage in O. Ir.

§ 70. O. Ir. had the following eight root forms to indicate that a thing *was* or *existed* :

1.—**Attáu (Atáu)**, **Attó** < **ad-stāio*, cf. Lat. *stō* < **stāo* < *stāio*. The simple form *-tá* is also found.

¹ The construction of *ser* with participles to form the passive as *soy alabado* 'I am praised' may be mentioned. In O. Ir. *is* was used with participles as *i the sídī beta hícthi* Wb 3d29, *an-as suidigthe* 'when it is placed,' *amdar suidigthe na bissi*, Trip. Life 10, 31, etc., but this use has disappeared except in such phrases as *nach shíod é imthighthe uait é*, 'there he is gone away from you,' *cáide déanta é*, 'how long is it made?' etc. In the Irish preterite passive, however, we had possibly the remnant of *is* in the *h* of words like *harduigheadh* < *is* < *ist* < **esti*. Cf. Thurneysen, *Ériu* II, 1, and *Handbuch* 152. For a discussion of the use of *ser* and *estar* with a passive participle, cf. Cirot, *Mélanges de Philologie offerts à F. Brunot*, Paris, 1904, p. 57.

2.—**Adcomnicc** < ad-com-ān-icc=‘it happened,’ used with the infixed pronoun to express existence, but more particularly to introduce a personal name, *atomchomnic*=ad-dom-chomn-ic, ‘I am,’ e.g., *Setanta mac Sualtaim atomchomnaicse* I,U 59^{b5} (YBL *atomcomainm-se*), ‘I am Setanta son of Sualtam,’ or ‘Setanta mac Sualtaim is my name’¹ (YBL) in answer to *cia th’ ainm-siu*². This construction³ is replaced after a time by the formula *N. misi*, thus the phrase corresponding to the above in LI, 62^{b42} (Táin) is *Setanta bec missi mac Sualtaim* in answer to *cia tussu*. *Atomchomnaic* is common in early Mid Ir. and survives till PH. Cf. Chap. I. § 7 above.

3.—**Bíu**, ‘I am wont to be’=W. *byddaf*. Cf. Sans. *bhavati*, L. *fiō*. The unaccented form (of 3 sg.) *-bi* used as a copula often means ‘become.’ Cf. above § 12, 13. The other *b*-forms are pret. (sg. 3) *bói*, fut. I. *bia*, subj. I. *beo*; verbal noun *buih*, *both*.

4. **Díxnigur**,⁴ which can be conjugated, translates the forms of Latin *esse*, thus Ml 23^{a1} *neminem esse Dei memorem gl. nad ndixnigedar nech*, ‘that there is no one,’ which would in later Irish be expressed by *atá . . (ann), ní fuil duine (ann)*. Cf. Ml 20^{c6} *in díxnigedar*. At 51^{c16} *indixnigedar* is answered by *atá sôn*, also Wb 9^{c14} *sic non est inter vos sapiens is nad díxnigedar nach aecne*, ‘it is that there is no wise man.’

On the other hand it is sometimes equivalent to the copula construction—e.g., Sg 37^{b17} *fá innadíxnigedar cechtardé* ‘whether it is not each of the two.’ Similarly Ml 75^{c9} *qui sis* is glossed *cia hé nundixnaighther-siu* which seems equal to the later construction *cia thussu*. Cf. Sg 22^{b3} *dubium sit* ‘ab’ an ‘ad’ praepositio sit: *in díxnaigedar*, ‘whether it is.’

5.—**Dicoissín**, an impersonal form used in relative construction. It is employed to express existence and corresponds in meaning to *attá*—e.g., Wb 17^{b10} *frinn fanisin cotondelofam .i. amal doncoissín*,

¹ Literally, ‘Setanta mac S. has chanced to me.’

² This becomes in Mod. Ir., *cé h’ainm thú* ‘what is your name?’ Cf. § 7.

³ Further instances of *adcomnicc* are *dogairet inna huile Erennaig atochomnaic* Trip. Life 28, 8 *deochan atacomnaic* ib. 8, 6 7, *atacomnaicsi fadeisín* ‘and she herself’ Dá Derga 13, but *cia do chomainm-si a banscal* ib. 50.

⁴ Formed from an accented form of *di-coissín*.

with ourselves we will compare ourselves—that is, as we are':
arnaib uilib cumactib dichoisin in nim Wb 21^a13.

It is also used in the meaning of the later *atá* . . . *ann*—e.g.,
as la Dia cech rann neirt duchoissin amal ata les inna nert Ml 108^c14.
 'that to God belongs every part of strength that there is, as to him
 belong the strengths.' In this instance it may be noted that
duchoissin is used independently whilst *atá* is used with *la*; cf.
Sg 209^b29 *ar cach genitiu dichoisin ataat indib in dí cheil-se sis*
 'for in every genitive that exists there are these two meanings.'
 Outside the glosses, it occurs in the Old-Irish Metrical Treatise¹
cis lir baird docuisin, 'how many (kinds of) bards are there?' Ir.
 Texte III. 5. Cf. Laws III. 4, 16.

6. **Fil**, *fel*, *fail*, is (rel.) < *√vel*—see (Sarauw). Cf. W. *gweled*. *Fil*
 is impersonal and takes the accusative—e.g., *corroffessid file cuim-*
reacha formsa Wb 23^a5, *ni feil titlu remib* Ml 2^b4. It is used (1)
 after a relative which does not include a preposition, as *iarsin dligud*
fil hindiu *Sg* 178^a3, but not in such a construction as *aní i-táa*.
 (2) In enclisis, as *nicon fil frithorcuin* Ml 107^b8. (3) With an in-
 fixed pronoun='is'—e.g., *conid fail in adbai huire* AU 758, 'so that
 he is in a house of clay.' (4) In answer to *in fil* in interrogation:
in fil imbass forosna lat? 'fil ecin'² IU 55^b13. (5) Occasionally
 in absolute construction in poetry, *fil dún* . . . 'we are,' Im. Brain.

After a time, *fil* develops personal forms (cf. § 29). It is fol-
 lowed by the accusative till SR: *in fail tall mac n-Iesse* 5984, after
 which, it passes over into the construction of *atá* and becomes a
 part of the substantive verb.

7 **Ro-gab**: as *amal rondgab. cruth rongab*³ 'as it is,' is used where
 an infixed *n-* is required: *amal rondgab saichdetu dochum luic* in
aduerbiis atá dano in praepositionibus *Sg* 214^b1, 'as there is a
 striving towards a place in adverbs, so there is in prepositions.'
 It corresponds in meaning to *atá*, as may be seen from the above
 example, and in PH and later Irish it is replaced by *amal atá*. Cf.
 further Wb 27^a15 *amal rongab comadnacul dúun atá comeisseirge*.

¹ Ed. Thurneysen, Ir. Texte III.

² Cf. Strachan, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1899, pp. 54, 55.

³ AU 640 (?) poem.

'as there is co-sepulture to us, so there is co-resurrection.' *Rongab*¹ has also a 1 sg., *rongabus* and a 3 pl. *ron(d)gabsat*.

8. **Is** : the copula=*is* < **esti*, cf. Latin *est*, Goth., OHG *ist*. It is joined syntactically by the unaccented *b*-forms of the verbs of existence.

§ 71. From the above we see that of the eight forms of the verbs of existence in O. Ir. two, *rongab* and *dicoissin*, had disappeared in early Mid. Ir. and were replaced by *atá*; *fil* had fallen together syntactically with *atá* by about 1000 A.D., *díxnigur* of the Glosses disappeared and was represented partly by *atá* and partly by a copula construction; *atomchomnic* was replaced by the construction *N. misi*. In what follows, I shall endeavour to show that the accented *b*-forms of the verb of existence practically corresponded in their usage to those of *atá* already in O. Ir., whilst their unaccented forms corresponded to those of *is*. Hence the eight original forms had, in the 11th century, reduced themselves to two syntactical constructions—viz., that of the Copula and the Substantive Verb.

THE O. IR. USAGES OF ATÁU, BÍU, BÓI.

§ 72. The following is a comparison of the O. Ir. usages of *atáu* *bíu*, *bói*. Under *bíu* I include the imperfect (habitual past) *nobíunn*, with *bói* the future *bía*.

1. To denote existence :

(a) **Atáu**, etc. : *atá són .i. soirad iudae* Ml 51^e17 gl. *inest factis eius dignatio*—'that is, to wit, the deliverance of the Jews'; in answer to *indíxnigedar*. *Atá inotacht dúnni* Wb 33^b5 lit., 'there is entrance to us,' 'we have entrance.' It is in this case followed by the preposition. *Ataat da norpe rogab Abracham*, 'there are two heritages which A. has obtained'; *ataat alaili* (sic leg.) *feidligte ho aimsir* Ml 21^d4.

(b) **Bíu**, etc. : *ni rubi nechtar de cen alail* Wb 11^e17, 'neither of them can be without the other'; cf. Sg 29^b16 *is follus dún tra as riagoldu leosom nad mbíet cid int súperlati huare nad mbiat*

¹ For a fuller list of examples, v. Strachan, *The Substantive Verb*, pp. 12, 13.

na compariti Sg 40^b14, 'it is clear to us that it is more regular with them that there will not be even the superlatives because the comparatives do not exist.' But the second (*-biat*) may be also future. *Biid do anmmaim na cathrach* Sg 104^b5 '*(Samnis)* is as the name of the city.' This has also a preposition. *Is arindí nad biat etir* Sg 39^a25, 'because they do not exist at all.'

(c) **Bói**: *nicon rabatar olca betís mou* Ml 100^c11, 'there were no evils that could be greater'; *hó bóí mo chland* Wb 29^d6, 'since my clan came into being'; *ni bóí ní nogabad* Ml 33^a5.

(d) **bieid** *nach dréct diib hicfider* Wb 4^d6, *bieid aimser nad creitfider* Wb 28^c14; *niba cian mbias in pecthach* Ml 56^c22.

§ 73. 2.—To denote location or position:

(a) **atáu**, etc. *Ataat alaaili interiecta* AND *it coitchena do cach cenil* Sg 10^a1, 'there are some interjections common to every nation'; *atá brithem and cenutsa* Wb 6^b25, 'there is a judge (there) without thee.' Cf. *ni sochude diib ataát and* Wb 8^a17.

hi tintud Chirini atá inso Ml 103^d26; *in uinculsis euangelii itáu dar cenn sosceli* Wb 32^a10, 'in which I am for the sake of the Gospel.' *áta olc n-aill lib* Wb 9^c3.

(b) **bíu**: *ar biit alaile and rofinnatar a pecthe* Wb 29^a28, 'there are some whose sins are found out'; *biit sualchi and it foilsí*, 'there are virtues which are magnificent' Wb 29^a29. Stokes translates 'there are virtues there.' *is i retaib neb-aicsidib biid spes* Wb 4^a24, *intan no-mbūin i soinnmigi* Ml 108^b1.

(c) **bói**, etc. *robói crist i colinn* Wb 15^d14, *ind fáilte robói do libse* Wb 16^b2; *is and bieid finis* Wb 13^b29, *biid rath somailse fora mbelru* Ml 89^c15; *is fua máam robói* Ml 71^b14.

§ 74. 3. With *oc* to denote action:

(a) **atáu**: *ató oc combaig fríss*, 'I am contending with him,' Wb 16^d8; *hore rofitis is oc maid atáa* Wb 6^a18, 'because ye know that he is engaged in good'; *is oca ataaid* Wb 33^d7.

(b) **bíu**: *intan no-m-biu oc irbáig* Wb 20^a3, *intan mbimmi oca forbu son* Ml 15^a4, *ba oc imrádud chloine nobíth* Ml 55^c19.

(c) **bói**, etc.: *robói-som oc tatháir* Wb 23^d5, *robatur oc imbresun* Wb 30^c17; *bete oc comet ind fir* Ml 112^b20.

§ 75. 4.—With *la* to express possession or accompaniment:¹

¹ May be included under (2).

(a) **atáu** : *is lib atá a rogu* Wb.

(b) **bía** : *biid sain laá leiss* Wb 6^b16, 'he is wont to have a special day.'

(c) **bói** : *fides .i. robói la Abracham* Wb 2^c15.

5.—With an adverb of manner or position :

§ 76. (a) **Atáu** : *is amne atáa* Wb 6^a19, *ní fu indidit ata irascemini sunt* Ml 20^b13, 'it is not in affirmation that irascemini is here,' *ataat am in chrut sin* Sg 140^b1, *huare is intrinsecus atá in gním* Sg 139^a3.

(b) **bíu** : *biid iar fir anisin* Ml 11^a9, *ní rubai nach cruth ailiu* Sg. 7^b3.

(c) **bói**, etc. : *mad in chrud so bemmi* Wb 31^c11, *hore is in chruth so rumboi dossom* Wb 33^b1.

§ 77. (6) With adjectives :

(a) **atáu** : *ataat mesai dæ nephchometetarrachtí amal abis* Ml 55^d11, 'the judgments of God are incomprehensible like an abyss.' The word *nephchometetarrachtí* is formed from a verbal compound¹ *to-etar-rethim*.

(b) **bíu** : *is trissan dede sin biid duine slán et fírian* Wb 4^d33. Cf. *cona bí tírim* Ml 15^b15.

(c) *ipv* : *biid ersoilcthi archiunn for rig* Ml. 46^a7, 'be ye opened,' *amal nobemmis érchóilti* Wb. 9^a3, 'as though we were destined.'

(7) With nouns.

§ 78. (a) **Atáu** : *atá Dia atach ndúnni ais dethrebo* Ml 66^a1, 'God is a refuge to us of the two tribes.' This, as it stands, is in contravention to the rule that *atá* cannot be used as an assertive particle nor connect two members of an identity, and is hard to justify. For similar constructions with other parts of the verb cf. *nobetis-som mec domsa* PH 6108, where the construction is due to the confusion, which existed at the time, between the forms of the copula and substantive verb. *Atá*, however, does not admit of such an explanation. Perhaps it was introduced to avoid the awkward construction owing to *dúnni* being followed by *ais dethrebo*, and hence the wide separation of *is* from its subject if *is* were used.

¹ As it stands the root seems to contain a guttural as if it were a participial form of *√reg*. But for similar forms in compounds of *-rethim*, cf. Thurneysen, *Handbuch* § 707, 733.

In later Irish, it might be expressed *atá Dia ina atach dúinne* or *is atach dúinne . . . Dia*. The latter type of construction was, of course, also regular in O. Ir.

To be compared is Wb 15^a13 *ní uainn fésine ataam for tectiri* which the editors of the Thesaurus translate: 'it is not from ourselves that we are messengers to you.' This is also an extraordinary construction if we are to take it in that sense. A simpler explanation would be to take *tectiri* as a mistake for *TECTIRECHT*, 'it is not of our own accord that we are on an embassy.' Cf. Wb 13^b5 *buid for tectairecht*¹ *hó Ísu*.

(b), (c)—No examples.

(8) With the infixed pronoun=have.

§ 79. (a) **Atáu :** (mas)*su bethu frecndirc tantum no-m-tha* Wb 13^c10, 'if it is present life only that I have.' *ní-n-ta airli ar mban* Wb 31^c7, 'we have not control over our wives,' *ind indocbál no-b-ta* in futuro, 'the glory which is in store for you in the future' Wb. . . *ní-b-tá torbe de* Wb 19^b10, *ní-m-tha son*, Táin bó Fr. CZ IV 44, 28. *ní-s-ta-som cumang domm orcuin-se* Ml 60^d3, 'they have not power to slay me,' *ní-m-thá duit, ol in Dagda* LL 246^a5.

With *ní-tha dia meit* Wb 5^b10, 'it is not so great,' lit. 'there is not to it of such greatness' we may compare for the construction *ma rus-bói di humaldóit* Wb 28^d29, 'if she had so much humility.' In these constructions, we may notice the avoidance of adjectives of size and measure referred to above (§ 61) in dealing with the modern usages. These partitive constructions² are common in Mid. Ir., e.g., *do bí do mét gradha Poimp aco*, Cath Catharda 1235. 7 *búi do méd ecla*, ib. 1237.

As illustrated above *-ta* with the infixed pronoun means 'have,' e.g., *ní-m-tha*, 'I have not,' whilst *ní-m-fil*='I am not.' Already in O. Ir. we find exceptions to this distribution of meaning—e.g., Wb 12^a21 *ní di chorþ atóosa hóre nimtha láam*, 'I am not of the body because I am not hand.' But cf. Wb 8^d24 *nimþtha fírion arachuit sídi*, 'I am not righteous as to it.' The *p* in this latter instance is remarkable.

¹ Cf. also *combad for tectairecht nothissad* LL 230b.

² Cf. further *roboi du chensi Duaid* Ml 55d4, such was the clemency of David, *air roboi du meit a pecthae som combu uisse ; atá di thrummai na fochaide insin* Ml 23a19 'so heavy are the tribulations,' *ní rabae di esamni Duaid* Ml 33c17.

8 (b) **bíu, nobíinn** : No instance of the infixed pronoun in O. Ir. Cf. however *ro-s-bí críth* T. Bithnua § 122, Ériu II, p. 136, *miad ros-bí* Ir. Texte III, 2, p. 520, l. 789. The following are instances of the independent pronoun where it would be possible to have an infixed pronoun with *-tá* : *ní bii debuith do fri nech* Wb 28^b25, 'he has not a quarrel with anyone.' *Cid innahi nobitis dom huam chairtib* Ml 86^d6, cf. Mod. *cia mhéad atá sa mbliadhain dó* how much a year has he? ; *ni bith chomdidnad damsá indib* Ml 62^b6, 'I used not to have consolation in them.'

(c) **bói**, etc., *ma ru-s-bói di humaldóit* Wb 28^d29, *is tria hiris ram-bái cech maith* Wb 2^c13, 'it is through his faith that he has had every good,' *ni-s-rabae andurairngred doib* Wb 33^b3, *ro-t-bia less lóg* Wb 6^a11, 'thou shalt have with Him reward,' *r-am-bia* 27^c13, *ro-n-bia-ni indocbal* 14^c17, *arn-dom-roib-se fochricc* Wb 10^d13, *co[n]-don-roib uita aeterna* Wb 20^c14 ; *dorochóinset arn-da-beth in tairisem* Ml 131^c9, *no-n-da-biad cech maith* Ml 33^b13.

There is no instance in the Glosses of an infixed pronoun in the imperative. But cf. *ron-bith essomon* Stories from the Táin, p. 40.

§ 80. As can be seen from the above examples the usage of *atá* corresponds, in the main, to that of the accented forms of *bíu* *bíinn* and *bói*, *biid*, and these groups may consequently be considered to have virtually fallen together syntactically at the time of the Glosses. The non-use of the infixed pronoun with *bíu*, *bíinn*, may be to a certain extent accidental. The number of instances of *atá* to denote existence is also naturally less, owing to the use of *díxnigur* and *dicoissin* in that sense. The principal instances which are so used are, moreover, followed either by a preposition or a relative clause. On the other hand *bói* and *bieid* in this sense are common, and the construction frequently occurs with an adverb of time : *niba cian mbias in pecthach* Ml 56^c22.

§ 81. A very closely allied meaning to that of existence is the use of *atá* . . . and as, *ataat alaaili* interjecta and *it coitचना do cach ceníul* Sg 10^a1 where *ataat* . . . and equals 'there are.' This construction also occurs with *bíu*, and is the common way of expressing existence¹ in Mid. and Mod. Ir.—e.g., *atá Dia and*, 'there is a God.' Cf. PH 3994 *atá fath aile and*, 'there is another reason,' *ata re cian ann* 1070, 'a long time ago,' *ar ataat teora aimsera and*

¹ Even with the copula *and* comes to be used to denote existence, e.g. *is nóin and* PH 510.

3524, 'for there are three times.' We should expect this construction to have originated with *atáu*, *attó* owing to its formation : **ad-stāio* from a root, meaning to 'stand'; cf. Lat. *stō*. As the *bū* (similarly *bói*) forms are from a common Indg. **bhuiō-*; (cf. OE *beo*, OHG *bim*, Lat. *fio* and perf. *fui*), whilst *atáu* is a peculiarly Irish compound, and as the construction with the substantive verb in several respects is peculiarly¹ Irish we may conclude that *atá* has imposed its syntax on the others. Thus the accented *b-* forms have ranged themselves along with *atá* to form the substantive verb, whilst their unaccented forms are construed like *is* and become the copula.

THE COPULA.

§ 82. As in the case of the substantive verb I give the *is*, *-bi* and *bo-* forms separately. The copula is used :

1.—With noun predicates :

(a) **is** : *hore am abstal et am forcitlíd do chách* Wb 10^e16, *at firian-su* Ml 36^a22, *huare is lanchiall indib chenae* Sg 140^b3, (pl.) *ammi boill crist* Wb 12^b2, *it carit domsa* Wb 5^e7, *amal no-n-dad maicc coima* Wb 27^b16, 'as ye are dear sons,' *nídat ní* Ml 130^b1, *is athir som* Wb 2^c11, *is bésad inna flatho* Wb 9^d2, *is Dia bendach-the isnabithu* Wb 4^c4, *hore is minister Deo* Wb 6^a18.

(b) **bi** : *intí ropo magister prius combi discipul post* Wb 13^a12, 'so that he becomes a disciple,' *indhi lasmbi accobur tol* Dæ Wb 30^c23 (possibly), *combi elifas* Sg. 95^b7.

Cf. Im. Brain, 16, *combi fuil*, 'until it becomes blood.'

(c) **ba, bid**, etc. : *basa Iudide* Wb 10^d34, *ropsa airchinnech* Wb 18^e15, *lasse ba snim fora menmain conidfessed cia bed flaith inna diad* Ml 89^b7; *arm-benn duine acht duruménar romsa Dia* Ml 130^d4, *hore ro-m-bu thoissech na fectae* Wb 33^a20, 'because he was leader of the expedition.'

2.—With genitives :

(a) **is** : *ní la nech húain alaile ammi Déa huili* Wb 6^b20; *amal as na n-Assar* Ml 54^a22; cf. sicut Assiriorum; *is beic* (adj.) *lim in brig sin* Wb 8^d21; cf. *is becc in brig* 11^a9.

In the artificial Irish of Ml, we find such genitives as *amal is in denmada coitchinn* 27^b13 gl. ut communis quippe factoris.

¹ For a similar construction in Spanish, cf. § 67 above.

(b)-**bi** : I have not been able to discover any instances.

(c) **ba, bid**, etc. *ba méite limm* Wb 29^d8.

3.—With adjectives :

(a) **is** : *am irlam* Wb 1^b9, *amal no-n-da frendircc-sa* Wb 9^b4, *cota béu trintsu* Ml. 44^c11, 'so that I am alive through thee,' *ammi irlaim* Wb 4^b21, *adib mairb* Wb 3^b6, *intí nád imdibthe* Wb 1^d15, *asníressach* pro fidelibus 23^a13 ; *is móo iarna arigud* 3^c35, *is nesa dogeintib* 2^b17, *is marb in corp* 4^a6, *am slán* Sg 143^a1.

(b) **-bi** : *nípi glæe, nípi firderb* Wb 12^c12, *nípi cian a masse* Wb 28^c25, **com-bi bidslán* Wb 4^d33, *ni ib fínn combi mescc* Wb 28^b24 gl. non uiolentum, 'he drinks not wine so that¹ he is drunk,' *isind aimsir i mbi failid nech* Ml 86^d11.

3 (c) **ba, bid**, etc. : *nípsa trom for nech* Wb 17^c12, *amal ro-mbo marb* Wb 15^b25, *cainípsa sóir* Wb 10^c24, *níbo liach a marbad* Wb 4^a12, *ropsa huallach-sa* Ml 49^b12, *níp oirgnae* Wb 3^a1.

bid fír a tairngire Wb 22^c3, *bimmi nóibni* 3^d27 ; *cía ba beo* 23^b29, *achí ro[b] bronach* Ml 86^d12, 'provided that he be sorrowful,' *no-m-bin dermatach* 20^a4.

4.—With participles :

(a) **is** : *it he sídi beta hícthe* Wb 3^d29, *anunda thinnachtae-se*, 'when I am given' Ml 126^d12, *an-as n-esngabthe* Ml 22^d9.

(b) **-bi** : No instance in Glosses.

(c) **ba, bid** : *rupsa frithortae-se* Wb 33^a12, *arromsa cumscraigthe* Ml 46^b9, *amtar mbati* Ml 84^d5, 'when they were drowned.' *ar ro-m-bu suidigthe* Ml 48^d6 ; *bed fomamichthe* Wb 13^c2, etc.

5.—With a pronominal predicate :

ishe Dia Wb 15^c17, *ished bunad mo chlainde* Wb 5^a19, *ished for n-ainm insin* 5^a17, *isí indso ind rún inso* Wb 13^d16 ; either the first or second *inso* here must be omitted. For a similar repetition cf. Ml 86^c3 ; *Crist didiu issi in chathair* Wb 21^c5, *ished in honestum guide Dée* Wb 10^b15, *huare issi aimsir sin indénta* ; *asné Crist in lie asrubart* Wb 4^d16, *ite uiui in doini bí* Sg 39^a23 ; *is sissi in tempul sin* Wb 8^d7.

(b) **-bi** : No instance.

(c) **ba, bid** : *ar ba hé ind ord* 65^d11, *ba hé a ordá coir* Ml 136^c2, *combad snini far moidem-si* Wb 15^d6, *bid si a fochricc* Wb 20^c13, 'this will be his reward,' *bit hé magistir dongegat* Wb 30^d8, *combad si amser sin rongabthe* Ml 24^d7 ; *na bad (ipv) hed a méit* Wb 22^b14.

¹ 'until he is drunk'—Editors of Thes., which is ambiguous.

6.—To introduce an adverbial or prepositional phrase :

(a) **is** : *is samlaid ataid-si* Wb 4^a4, *is indil as ferr iudeus quam gentilis*, 'greatly is Judaeus better than gentilis,' *is amne as coir* MI 114^a9, *amal is i lou* Wb 6^a30, *is hó siun co nuie dam far seirc* Wb 4^b29, *is ond athir dó* 21^d4, *is din chorþ in ball* 22^c18, *is huas nert dam* Sg 1^a6.

(b) **bi** : *quid na bi samlaid duibsi* Wb 18^b9 : *combi iarum coiscitir indfir* Wb 22^c10. In the MS the mark is over the *i* of *iarum* not of *bi*.

(c) **ba, bid**, etc. : *robu samlaid robói* Sg 203^b5.

nípu uaib Wb 13^a20, *nirbu cen frithorcuin* MI 63^b7, *cepu fri aicned* Wb. 2^c25, *ba inna elluch atarímtis* Sg 188^a3, *niba samlaid* MI 27^d12, *combad ho suidiu pepigi* Sg 181^a3.

7. With *la* :

(a) **is** : *is la Dia cid Calldea* MI 45^d9, 'even Chaldea belongs to God,' *ni la nech hudín alaile, cid less ar mbeo et ar mmarb* Wb 6^b20, 'not to any of us belongs the other, though we are His alive and dead,' *commimis less huili* 6^b21.

cini dlúith lib int óintu-sin Wb 12^b9, 'though ye do not deem that union close,' *is galar leu uili* Wb 12^b10, 'they all think themselves sick,' *is assu linn scarad fri ar corp* Wb 15^c22 ; *inti lasinn accubar* MI 53^c16, 'he whose desire is,' *inti lasin formut* MI 129^b3, *indi nad ni libse*.

(b).

(c) **ba** : *conropu la Dia* MI 67^c9, 'so that it was God's.'

(Cf. with a different meaning *robo diliu linn* Wb 14^d13, *roþo scíth linn* 14^b26, *intain rombo mithig less* 31^a10, *nirbu aithrech limsa* 16^b6, *ba dochu lem* Wb 5^b31, *ba ferr limm* Wb 10^b24, *bid héet libsi geinti do bith in-hiris* 5^a13, *niba fochen leu a forcetul* Wb 30^d7.)

8. With *do* to express purpose :

is do saidi-siu MI 101^c6.

9. Relative construction introduced by *is*.

(a) *ishé sensus forchain* Wb 8^c2, *is messe rophroidich* 10^b22, *is hé-som doradchuir, is me m'óinur aridrochell* Sg 202^a7, *as n-iress noibas* Wb 19^b14, *it sib ata chomarpai* Wb 19^c20, *is snisni ata boues* Wb 10^d7, *is sisi nobcrete* MI 46^a13, *fubith is tri metur roceta* MI 30^a9, *it hé ata mundus* Wb 5^a14, *it hé sidi beta hicthi* 3^d29.

(c) With **-bu** : no instances except *nirbu chosc coir dorratsat forru-som*, and sentences of the type *nirbu faás foruigéni* Wb 13^b7.

bid : *bid uathad creitfes diib* Wb 4^d5, *bid missericordia dodaess-arr-som* Wb 5^c12.

THE AFFIXED PRONOUN.

§ 83. (a) *issumecen* precept Wb 10^d24, 'I am obliged,' *isa[t]-dilmainsiu* Ml 55^d21, 'it is free to thee.'

intan dogni nech olc issidnaithrech fochetoir, 'he repents at once,' Ml 90^d12.

(c) *nípadnaidrech andurairngert* Wb 5^e9, 'what He has promised He will not repent of.' Cf. *batin aithrig*, 'we shall rue it,' Ériu I, 68.

In the above instances, the affixed pronoun is in dative relation. In *ní pa-dn-aidrech*, the dental form is surprising as the construction is not relative. Compare the following instances in O.Ir. texts:

issinn-aithrech an-doringensam LL 250^b17 (Fraech), cf. for the same phrase *is arn-aithrech* CZ IV, 418 (Fraech), *is aithrech lind* T. Cf. *cen cop maith bid-it-ecen* LL 274^b7, 'thou shalt be obliged,' *isiméicen* LL 125^b1, *atabairecen*, 'ye must' F. Br. (Wi. I. 255), but *niba heicen duib* MD XXVIII. (RC X, 66, YBL); *isamómun* LU 65^a18, 'I am afraid,' but *is omun liumsa*¹ PH 1793, *omun De do beth foraið* PH 3491; cf. *ris na rom-úath na hómun* LL 125^b3 (leg. *narb-dom-uath*²?). *Ni badam beo* LL 276^a46, 'I shall not be alive.' Cf. further *dia domnaig badid n-aithrech* CZ III, p. 228.

WITH COMPARATIVES.³

§ 84. The following are further instances of the affixed pronoun with the copula where it has the force of a dative of comparison:

Senchaidh badhid amru AU 879, 'an historian more excellent than he,' cf. SR 6627 *ní báí remi innach dú: ríq n-aile bádad-amru; ní ffuaramar ar talmain Almain badid redithir, ní rangamar iarsin cath Lilcach badid nemether* Frag. Ir. An. 722; *badid ciallidiu-Liadain* and *Cuirithir* (ed. Meyer, p. 16). Cf. Thes II 292 *ní fáil bada crichidiu*, 'none could be more shapely (?) than it,' and ib. note l., where the instances *bes-idn-isle*, *bes-adn-uaisliu* YBL 261^a14, 15 are quoted. Further *ni fil fo grëin fairind find fëil basid fëiliu*, Archiv III, p. 297 = (Ir. Metr. p. 19).

¹ Cf. Fier. 83, *gurub eclach dóibh in aidhche anocht*.

² But cf. on the other hand, Marstrander, Ériu V, p. 216. ■

³ Cf. LAU, p. 179.

GENERAL REMARKS.

§ 85. I have considered above the principal points of the syntax of the *is-* forms in the present indicative, and have arranged the *b-* forms of the copula for separate consideration. As will be seen from the examples the syntactical usages of the *is-* and *b-* forms are the same. In addition it may be noted that:

1. The *b-* forms are the unaccented forms of the corresponding tenses of the substantive verb.

2. Where the subject was a noun, the order was copula, predicate, subject, as: *bid fír a tairngire* Wb 22^c3. Sometimes the subject was included in the verb.

3. The copula includes the unaccented 3 sing. *-bi* of the habitual present *bíu*. This is, in most cases, distinguished from the corresponding substantive verb form by the absence of the mark of length, but *combi* elifas Sg 95^b7, etc., although often it can only be distinguished by the construction.

4. For the habitual past (imperfect) there were not any special copula forms; cf. Strachan, Subst. Verb, p. 33.

4. The dependent *-ta* forms in the copula 1, 2 pers. *nita*, (pl.) *nidan*, *conda*, etc., were most probably borrowed from the substantive verb *-tau*, and as they were unaccented words they fell together in syntax with the *is-* forms of the copula.

5. The copula has an affixed pronoun, e.g., *issumecen*, Wb 10^d24. This, however, does not point to accentuation, and is fundamentally different from the *-ta* forms which have the pronoun infixed.

7. The copula is the regular form used to predicate adjectives inclusive of participles.

8. The adjectives agrees in number with the subject as *ammi irlaim*.

9. The copula agrees in number with the subject as: *it corp in boill sin* Wb 12^a13.

10. When the predicate is put at the beginning (or end) and a pronoun takes its place, this pronoun agrees with the subject, as: *Crist didiu isse* in chathair; *ished* in *honestum guide Dee*. But *ni hed a méit*.¹

¹ Cf. Thurneysen, Handbuch §406. In Ml 20a19 *mét* is either masculine or feminine. It has the masculine pronoun in Sergl. Con. 49, FB 20. It was followed by aspiration in FB 91 *meit chore*. The compound *com-mét* is neuter in LL 53b29 and this was probably the original gender of *mét* itself. *Eret* has masc. pron. in Ml 33a9, but neuter in SC 1; the modern usage *an oiread céanna* rather points to its being neuter. *Mét* has *n-* in AS 5873.

11. When used to introduce an adverbial phrase, another verb is required : *is samlaid ataid-si* Wb 4^a4, *is amne as coir* Ml 114^a9.

I append here a brief list of idiomatic expressions with the copula and the substantive verb.

THE COPULA.

§ 86.

Belong : Copula + *la* + noun or pronoun = 'belongs,' as *is la Dia cid Calldea*. Remarkable is the use of *la* and the genitive side by side in *ní la nech huáin alaile ammi Déa huili* Wb 6^b20. This usage of *la* to denote possession is exactly the same as in modern Irish.

Long for : *is fada liom uaim go gcluine mé an fhuaim* (Mod.), 'I long to hear the sound.'

Prefer : *ba ferr limm* Wb 10^b24, 'I had rather.'

Regret, repent : *nirbu aithrech lim-sa* Wb 16^b6, 'I had no regret.' This usage is rather different from the foregoing. Cf. remarks on affixed pronoun above.

Think : Copula + adjective + *la* before a noun or pronoun generally = 'thinks,' as *cid cain lib in laechraid lainn*, 'though fair ye deem the valiant heroes.' But it sometimes varies with the adjective and is equal to **like, wish**, when the adjective is *maith*, as, *mad olc maith let*, 'whether you like it or no,' Fier. 33. Cf. *maith limsa mad maith la Ultu* Fl. Br. (Wi I., 255, 13), 'I am satisfied if the Ulstermen are.'

Wonder : *ba hadbal leo mét . . . in bhilair* AS 88, 'they wondered at the size of the water-cress.'

Welcome : *níba fochen leu a forcital* Wb 30^d7, 'they will not welcome the teaching.' *Fochen* might here also be taken as a noun.

With a noun instead of an adjective in the above cases there is a variety of meanings :

Imagine : *is dóigh lium*, 'I imagine, suppose,' Fier. 83. Cf. *is derb limm*.

To be jealous : *bid héet libsi geinti do beth in hirís* Wb 5^a13, 'ye will be jealous.'

Remember : *in cuman lat a Adaim na fuarus d' ulcc* SR 1757, 'do you remember, Adam, all the harm that has been done me?'

With the above we may compare :

Can : *in etir leat*¹ : *is éidir*, 'can you ? I can.'

¹ Stokes reads *etar*, but cf. the reply which contains the modern (*f*) *éidir*.

We may here compare an idiomatic expression :

come from, belong to : *ór is do Leith Cuinn do* AS 2027, 'because he hails from Leth Cuinn,' *inn a síthaib in do deib dúib* Trip. Life 100 6. (Cf. Thurneysen, Handbuch, § 797).

With the above meanings of the copula + *la* compare the Welsh *kany bo teilwg gan yr ysgymunedigyon Saeson cadw ffyd werth-yfi*, 'although it did not seem meet to the accursed Saxons to keep faith with me,' Strachan, Early Welsh, 149, 30.

THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

§ 87. **Have :** *atá + la* (O.Ir.)=have. *fides .i. roboi la Abracham*, 'which Abracham had.' For the use of the infixed pronoun with *atá*=have, as *ni-s-ta som cumang*, 'they have not power'; cf. above, § 79. In Mod. Ir. the relation is expressed by *atá ag* : *atá sgian agam*, 'I have a knife.'

To ail : *cid daas in c[h]aillech?* Trip. Life 28. 1. 17. 'what is the matter with the nun?' Cf. *ished romboth dom* Wb 24^a24, 'this is why people have been at me,' *ished dáthar dúin* Wb 28^a4, 'it is therefore we are pestered.' Cf. *is airi bai Patraic do Euchaig* Trip. Life 224, 10; *cid rombá* Trip. Life 196, 10, 'what was the matter with thee?' Modern : *céard tá ort* 'what ails thee?'

To succeed : *tá leat*, 'thou hast succeeded in it', Mod. Ir. I have no instance of this from the older language.

THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB WITH THE ADJECTIVE.

OLD IRISH DEVELOPMENT.

§ 88. For the sake of convenience of reference, I shall here give together all the instances I have been able to discover of the substantive verb with the adjective in the Glosses, in the O.Ir. texts, and in the following Early Mid. Ir. texts down to *Acallam na Senórach* :

Glosses :—*ataat mesai Dae nephchomtetarrachti amal abis* Ml 55^a11. *is trissan dede sin biid duine slán et fírian combi bid-slán et bidfírian* Wb 4^a33. Cf. *conabí tirim* Ml 15^b15.

Ipv. : *biid ersoilcthi arciunn forríg* Ml 46^a7, 'be ye opened.'

Subj. : *amal nombemmis érchóilti* Wb 9^a3, 'as though we were destined.'

Cf. : *amal mbís tegdís : fás (amm)edón ⁊ scópthe* Turin 14. Here *fás* begins a new sentence. A similar construction is *is amlaid robae in ben bān : torrach isa bru bith-lán* BB 371^b37. In *no-m-bin dermatach*, 'that I should be forgetful' Ml 20^a4, *-bin* is obviously the copula form though *no* usually belongs to the subst. verb.

Im. Brain : *arrobói a rígtech lán de rígaib* § 1 'when the royal house was full of kings,' *ó robatar ind liss dúntai*, 'since the ramparts were closed', ib.

Toehm. Emire : The only instance is a verbal noun, *a beith ro-occ, a biith ro-danai, ro-alaind* CZ III. 230 (ed. Meyer). This usage is also in the Glosses¹ : *biith nochtchenn* 'to be bareheaded,' Wb 11^e12.

Coph. Mucc. : *bítiss meth² occ tinntúd* (Wi. l. 23. Ir. Text III, Eg.). Cf. *is amlaid báí in Dond Cualngi, dubdond³ diumsach⁴* etc.

Táin bó Fráich, Tochmarc Étaine : No instance.

Usn. : No instance. In the phrase *biaid etach cid iartain dot daig* § 5, *etach* is to be taken as a noun='horror' (?)

Compert Con. : No instance. For *rubad torrach húad* (Wi I. 139) Eg. has *biad⁵ torruch uaim-siu a ben*.

Fled Brice : The line *is tri chin mban bit fernaí fer dlochtai* (Wi I. 267, 8), as it stands may mean 'for it is through the fault of women that the shields of men are wont to be split,' but perhaps

¹ v. Thurneysen, Handbuch § 798, and cf. further Ml 44c6 with the construction in 53b8.

² Windisch leg. *méthi*.

³ We should expect *⁊ é dond*, etc. ⁴ LL 247^a8.

⁵ Cf. *biat ri-siu* LL 147a9, the 2 sg. future of copula, cf. also LL 147a20, etc.

this may be merely an inversion of the word order owing to the *Rethoric* in which the poem is written, and may stand for *bít dlochtai fernai fer*, 'the shields of men will be split,' as in *nibu sanct Brigit suanach*, Broccán's Hymn, 20.

In *tingartatar Ulaíd celebrad iar suidíu ocus bátár budig ocus doberat bennachtain* (ib. Wi I. 282, 10), bátár seems, from its accentuation and position, to be the substantive verb, but it might also be taken as the copula with the mark of accentuation wrongly inserted. Cf. *comtar budig* (Wi I, 295, 7).

The line *is mé a cnu chride glé diammbé-se baeth fiad etarlu* (ib., Wi I, 263, 9, R.) is in the other MS. *dia mbe se die mbe se baeth fiad etarlae*; probably we have to read: *glé dia mba bé-sa baeth . . .* 'I am the nut of their heart (i.e., 'their beloved'), it is clear that if I were a foolish woman in presence of . . .'

Trip. Life¹: Cf. *bátar toirsich de*, p. 84, 19; *amal nobeithi fein beo and*, 252, 11, 'as if you yourself were alive there,' but *roptis galraig*.

LU Táin: *combítis tornochta*² Ériu 502. YBI, 20^a. *beit cuirp cerbtha* Ériu 80.

toisechu bia marb oldas bia meirb LL 147^a9, 'thou wilt be sooner dead than weak.'

Dá Derga: *bia torrach uaim-sea*, p. 12 (Stowe: *acht chena atai torrach*); *robói fáen inna imdai*, p. 77. Cf. *bátár anachtai*, 'they were to be spared,' ib. 127.

Sergl. Con.: *bia slan*. 'thou wilt be well' (Wi § 13) is the only instance.

Various tenth cent. texts: *bia marb*³ LL 271^b33 (cf. ib. *biat marb -so* LL 271^b40, 272^a6)=thou wilt be dead, cf. *bia marb ria cind bliadna* LL 275^a50 (Mór Muman), a very old text.

SR:⁴ (v.n.) *a beith imnocht* 1298, *mo bith lomnacht* 1336, *corabe fesin lomnucht*⁵ 1316, *feib atam nocht* 1347, *bethi mairb* 1232, 'ye will be dead.' In *ni chuingem flaith bis mo fus* 1219 *bis* is probably copula. Cf. copula *biat slana* 4167 (leg. *bít*⁶, Strachan).

¹ Also with verbal noun *a mbith cobsaid nemeumscaighi in hule*, p. 4, 23.

² Strachan reads *tornocht* n. pl. of adj. which does not show palatalization.

³ This text has nominative plural *ind fir*.

⁴ In *fail mor do sostaib soer slan*, *soer slan* are to be taken as attributives to *mor*.

⁵ The *u* is here to rhyme with *thucht*. Cf. *confacca a mnai lomnacht* 1304.

⁶ But compare *biam tigerna* 855 and v. remarks on the future copula forms Chap. 1.

Non-instance *nocon alaind mar atái* 1305, etc.

Tochm. Ferbe : *is triana cin atá sund in tarbech sínte comlund*, 1. 260 (LL).

FA : No instance.

Various Mid. Ir. texts : *dursan do thriath cen beith beo* Er. MacCoisse (A.D. 1022, Archiv III), *co filim garb-liath ir-richt* LU 16^a13, *co mbái marb ar in láthair* LL 207^a43 (Poem on Finn¹), *roboi-sium imnedach i tossuch a bethad* LL 51^a2 12 from bot.; *co rabadar saitheach* Muir. mac Earca² § 19, *ni boi occo-som do chumachta a mbith beo iarna ndichennad . . .*; *mór in glond dia mbetis beo*—Find mac Cumail, Wi. I, 160, *rodaim do bath co mbí toll Fian*. p. 24. 7 *bai urlam forsín áth* LL 72^a18—Táin. cf. *combatar subhaigh soforbailig* Corm. Sw., ed. Stokes § 52 (BB, where YBL has *comdar*); *ata m'ainm scribht[h]a*⁴ and Corm. Sw. § 70.

PH : *bid crid-oirchisechtach dúind* 181, 7 *intan dosbiad si te* 382, 'when it would be warm,' 7 *a beith slan iar sin* 383, 7 *atberim a beith malarta escoitchend* 615, *atúsa cengailti o chuibrigib tened* 2061, 7 *biid-siu cuimigthi (?) i forcetul* 2537, *co rabi in uli demnaigeacht fomamaigthi do* 2796, *intí thadbanus sechtair do dóinib a beith maith*, 7 *sé olc ar medon* 6051, *triallaid-sium a beith maith* 6053, *bátar na hádnaicti óbela* 677, *a beth slan iar sin* 383, *beth beo co fáta* 2439, *robádusa dronnach* 2787, *dobadus clam* 2790, *ca fáth nach filet na demnu fomamaigti da bar . . .* 2798, *bíd forpíthi* 2413, 'be perfect,' *biaid se slán* 3705, *amal beti mairb* (leg. *betis*) 3742, *in tan bís arsaíd* 7400 *na bí* (2 sg. imper.) *cosmail frisín mbreacaire* 8364, 7 *bíd in bás beo indsin* 7465, *titul ata crosta o dlígud eclaisi* De 7599, *amal bemís marb* 2967 (copula ?); *acht mani beth borb o chraide* 4656, *a beth cummair* 7863, *ata cuid dib díultadach 7 araile daingnighthe* 7298.

§ 89. **Acallam na Senórach** :

Verbal noun⁵ : *damna da mathair beith marb* 3834, *do beth slemain slanchrechtach* 6096, *gan beth ainbech* 6793 (leg. *ainmech*).

¹ A poem in the same series by Find has *ro thuit* (rel.) LL 204a38 for earlier *do rochair*, but has again *atrochair* LL 204a53.

² Text has *rodibdaít uilí*. This form in *-it* occurs in AU 1014-1187.

³ Text has inflix. pron. *no-s-geib*, a. pl. *fíru*, imperf. *no-eirged*, but is probably 12th century.

⁴ Cf. *ariacht ainm scribhtha* and Corm. Sw., ed. Stokes, Ir. Texte III. § 71.

⁵ Cf. above, the adjective with the verbal noun already in Wb 11c12, *buith nocht-chenn* and Ml 44c6 *iarmbuith socumail*, but 53b8 *eid i socumail beusa*; cf. also Tochmarc Emire CZ, III, 230.

atá : *ata* [*in duan*] *urlumh*¹ *acumsa* 756, 'I have it ready.'

b-forms : *bíth* (3 sg. pres.) *in tres fer marb* 5479, *co raibe in cuan lán do longaib* 6919, *cein nobeidis-sim beo* 2147, *do boi-sium anbhann imeslán* 7175, *uair robai urlum* 439 (Fr.).

fil : *cíd um a bhfuilte dubach dobronach* 962, *ní fil dom síl beo* 3709.

In later Irish we might expect *atá* in the instances : *uair is slemain slanrechtach missi* 7233, *uair is scithech mé isin airechtus*, etc., *robo tinolta fir Éirenn* 7888, *is beo in flaith Find* 5357.

We have actually a transition from the copula to the substantive verb in the Franciscan MS. in the instances : *bidh co heisteachtach cailli*, *bid co féchanach muighi* 600, whilst the Lismore MS. has in the same poem *corbhat sidhuigh* 581, *gurbhat duilig*, etc. This transition is a result of the loss of the 2 sg. subjunctive which was used for the older imperative form of the copula.

Duanaire Finn² :

intan do bhíodh in muir lán VIII, 14, *san uisce go mbíodh lomlán XVII*, 5, *battar na lergga lán d'fuil XXIV*, 26, *robhádhus lan do mhenmain* 35, 96, *beith beo d' eis Osgair XXIII*, 17, *dia raibh beo XXIV*, 30, *go mbadar marbh in uair sin XIII*, 40, *a mbái toirirseach ón fhoirinn XXIII*, 164, *robhamoir uaithe toirirseach XXIV*, 60, *día raibhe millti ón iomghuin XXIII*, 149, *gé ata mo chroidhi teinn XXXII*, 11, *uair robhádhus dighaltach XXXV*, 51, *but do bhadhus go sáirmhenmnach XXXV*, 53, *riú robhádhus cosantach XXXV*, 79, *rinn ní raiphe for/failteach XXXV*, 27. (cf. *nír adhbhar dhuinn bheith menmnach XXXV*, 27).

§ 90. **Fierabras**³ (a text of the early fifteenth century, cf. Stokes, Introduction) :

oir dobi se croda do laim 7 mor do mét, par. 2, *da fuilit V. riga umal* 8, *an uair dobadais linta dfin* 10, *go mbeth se daingen agat* 19. (*na bi dorrdá* 16 MS. D.), *nach bía* (fut.) *slan* 35, *7 beir slan* 35, *go fuilim slan* 39, *no co follus co roibhe se slán* 48, *is follus co fultí eaclach* 69, *co mbeth* (sec. fut.) *se slan* 74, *mur do beth marb* 57, *7 dobi O. bán annsin re neim a chrecht* 79, *loitfidhter do suiper ata ulla* 82, *mar do beth marb* 87, *atai-se, loittighe* 95, *da mbethmais deisighthe* 98, *in uair dobadar ulla* 103, *do batar scithach* 107, *ata bur cuid*

¹ Cf. with copula *roptar urlama ri techt in turais*, Tog. Troi LL 219a20, 219b222, and further *7 is amlaid robói in baile, 7 fledh mor urlum ann* 4831.

² Ed. J. MacNeill, whose numbering of the poems and stanzas I give.

³ Ed. Stokes, RC XIX.

ullamh ann 118, 7 *bim-ne*¹ *ullamh* (let us be), *co mbeth saer o sin amach* 171, 7 *cumaill do beith gradach uman creidim* 247 (fulfil thy being loving to the faith), [Cf. *tír ata umhal don Imper-Maund.* 21].

§ 91. The following usages, in this text, of the foregoing or similar adjectives in connection with other verbs may be compared :

nach tiucfa tú beo 14, *nach tiucfa sé slán* 17, *mani tí se slán* 20, *uma techt slan* 22, *im O. do techt slan* 42, *do chuireadar cengailte ara n-echaib iat* 68, 7 *do connuic R. ser Gido cengailte acu* 153, *docim sibh co heclach* 166, *do imigh in righ da thigh co atoirsech* 168, *is ferr duin a comét beo* 170, (cf. *im rochtain slán dó fen* 173), *tabair beo*² *let é* 229, *dochuaid si docum R. co dobronach* 242.

NON-INSTANCES :

§ 92. In order to throw light on the development of the use of the adjective with the substantive verb, it is necessary to consider the possible non-instances or alternatives. These alternatives are from the texts above referred to.

(a) Copula :

rubad torrach huad, 'that she would be pregnant from him,' Comp. Con. (Wi. I. 139), cf. Egerton *biad torruch huaime-siu, a ben*; *ropadat slán o chianaib dia fesmais* Toch. Et. (LU, Wi 124), 'you should have been well long ago if we had known it'; *cid indiu bad-am-slán-sa*, 'even to-day I shall be well' (ib), *is-am slán-sa* (ib, Wi I, 128), *issat slán-sa* (ib), *cen bus beo* (ib, Wi 122, 14), *bát* (ipv.) *umal muinta o gaethaib* SC (Wi. I, par. 26), *bat cumnech* SC § 26, *nipat uarchraidech* (ib), *robaid astrach* ib. § 29, *cesu amul[c]ach is oc* ib. 37, *ogslan a suile iarsin aired robo beo* Mael Dúin XXX (p. 78), *oorbo lan mo theach leam* ib. XXXIII, *bíd lán anosa di ghainimh* MD XXXIII. *intan ba lán an t-anacol* (ib), 7 *bíd lan gach dhia*, 'and it (is wont to be) full every day,' *batar urlaim leis inni noragtais ina comaitacht* ib III (p. 458), *ba bronach de* ib (RC, ix, 458), 7 *roptar sáthig* ib XVII; Cf. *ammi irlaim* Wb³ 4^b21, *robtar irlim* Wb 7^b5.

ropsat fraechda nirbsat meirb Claid. Cerb. LL 47^a, *combatar brónaig*, Maelmuru⁴ of Fothan LL 134^a4.

nídam snímach Fiadat find—Suibne gelt (Ériu II p. 195), 'I am not displeased with the blessed Lord.'

¹ Leg. *bimit-ne*, Stokes. Other MS. *bemmit-ne*, *bemaidne*.

² Cf. Táin *is a mbeo beres* LU 63a1, etc.

³ Other instances from the Glosses are *adib mairb* Wb 3b6, *annarbu buidech* MI 40d10, *naba* (ipv. 2) *thoirsech* Wb 29d19, etc.

⁴ v AU 886.

Tripartite Life :

lasse ní béu cid in teni 10, 17, *amdar suidigthi na hissi* 10, 31, *huair rofitir ba sántach* 38, 2, *dodiussaig-som na bu comdar slana*, 12, 29, 38, 2, *comba marbh* 114, 1, *comba fliuch a agaid* 114, 5, *ba slán fochetóir* 200, 17, *asbert Patraic naptis torthig* 210, 3, *comdar so-imberta de* 218, 21, *amal bid marb* 220, 23, *arrubu[f]érach ind reilec* 228, 15, *acht asbert roptis galraig* 234, 27, *nida coimsech mo soirí* 252, 14

With adverbial phrase : *itá a athair a ngalar ib*, 76, 15.

SR : *fo riaguil do-s-rona in ri condat cora comchuibdi* 296, (cf. *ciam *toebnocht* 1540, 'though my side be naked'), *ba lan do gail* 1707 (no pronoun), *ro alt comba tren* 3709, *bagle glan* 3817, *aned ba beo ba huamnach* 3896, *nibtar foichligthi fri tóir* 3557.

bidat marthanaig FA (Wi I, 174), 'they will be lasting' (both MSS.), *is lomnan dia soilse nem* FA, p. 176, *roptar urlama ri techt in turais* LL 219^a20, cf. 219^b22—Tog. Troi, *comtís nert-menmnaig fri cach nith* LL 219^b24, 'that they might have fortitude in every contest.' Cf. *buidech é¹ do mac Eogain* LL 206^b24 (=Duan. Finn, p. 28), *in leth robo bruthe dhi osé odhar 7 in leth ele isé find* Moling § 45.

PH : *airet ba beo* 212, *ba marb* N. 212, 'N. died'² (no pron.), cf. 832, *ba dercach Silvester* 282, *uair isam urlam-sa* 596 *bid slan tú* 803, *comtar dáithnig*, 846, 'until they had their fill,' *intan ba beo a fer fen* 832, *is erlam sind* 988, 1042, *ropo chrochda in domun do* 1673, *is follus don lucht-sa conid clóthi 7 conid for buile atat* 1850, *a thuarcain comad marb* 1907, *uair níptar dligthach* 877, *ar bam* (fut.) *anoraigti-sea oc Dia* 2428, *comba dúntai il-lo bratha doras* 6905, *roptar toirsig na meic* 6725, *roptar snimaig na deiscipuil* 6724, *cein bam beo* 2017 (fut.), *combad deligthi o Dia* 6597, *ic a mbít na rig atla dílsi do chraes* 4189, 7 *bat slan iarum* 2319, 'and thou shalt be whole afterwards.'

¹ This use of the pronoun following the adjective in the copula construction, became general in later Irish, after the loss of the synthetic conjugation of the copula. Cf. *condat iat na gemini indiu iat* LL 232a16. We may compare the somewhat similar use of the pronoun in apposition to the subject in *ba mhaith in fear é Pól* corresponding to an older *ba fer maith inté Pól*. Cf. *ropo fer amru airegda inti Conchobar* LL 106a1 (Cf. LU 117b8.) Here (*inti*) *inté* appears to give place to *é*. The pronoun was already in existence in the form *hi sin*, *hi*, e.g. *in bairgen hi-sin* 'that bread,' Wb 11b8, *ní'n chruth hi thall* Wb 26b13, 'not in that way.' The development of this construction requires further investigation.

² This is the regular expression in Old and Early Mid Ir.

(b) § 93. *co*+adjective.

robíd co hamra in cach berlu Maelmuru LL 133^b36.

PH : *in lucht bui co serb domenmach* 406. *co mboi iarum co forp̃thi isna gnimu sin* 689, *ar mbeth-ne co forp̃the fora scath* 7899, *co rabum co noem ⁊ co nemhélnde fo t'anmum* 7898, *biid* (2 pl. ipv.) *co dethitech do rér na rig* 4069, *amal nobetis co marthanach*. Cf. *bí in erlaime* 3819.

AS : *robatur co dubach domenmnach* 3756, *robi-sium co huchfadach écaintech* 4048. *robatur na senoire co toirsech truag* 7905, *dobatur co subach* 3200.

Fierabras : *ni frith nech bud cosmail ris 2, o ta [se] fein co sanntach cuige* 19, *do bi co tarcuisnech* 22, *na bí co dordha* 16, *ataim co tribulaidech*¹ ⁊ *ni heitir lium do frecre* (Stokes translates 'I confess it with tribulation,' but 'I am troubled' seems to be the meaning); *dobi Ad. in aidhche sin co toirsech dobronach* 158, ⁊ *dobatar na ridiridha co attoirsech aga ndín* 162, ⁊ *dobhi co hacaintech toirreth* 251.

With a noun : *is[ed] adjet a legend as ndath glas roboi forsind sl[é]ib* Ml 84^d4; *robamar-ni fecht co cátaid acut*, SC § 43.

Various : *monuar ge táí co lan-olc* Death of Muirch. § 34 (RC).

REMARKS.

§ 94. We have seen that the adjective is used in the Glosses (1) with the verbal noun in the two instances *buith nochtchenn* Wb 11^c12, *m'aicsin in imniud iarmbuith socumail* Ml 44^c6, (2) with the consuetudinal present of the substantive verb in *ind foisitiu i ngiun imfolgni in duine slán, is trisan dede sin biid duine slán et firian combi bidslán et bid firian* Wb 4^d33 and *ni ib finn combi mescc*, 'he does not drink wine until he is drunk,' though the latter instance is probably the copula. (3) The instance with *ataat* quoted above. (4) The use with participles.

A consideration of the Old-Irish texts shows that the construction is equally rare in them also, and only a few valid instances can be quoted from these texts in the O. Ir. period. Amongst the Old Irish saga texts the most pronounced instances are (1) the use with **participles** : *ó robatar ind liss dúntai* Im. Brain 1, and (2) the use with **lán**, in *robói a rígtech lán de rígaib* ib., *lán* being one of a special class of adjectives with which I shall deal further on. The

¹ The other MS. has *hathmulta*.

instance with *bitis* in Coph. Mucc. (Fig.) is not to be distinguished from the copula; cf. 7 *beit methi mu mucco* for *bit*, etc., in the same text. In the early Middle Irish texts, we meet instances in SC *bía slan* LU 44^b32, and LL 147^a9 *toisechu bia marb oldas bia meirb* 'thou wilt sooner be dead than weak.' Both these texts¹ belong to the transition period from Old to Middle Irish. The 2 sg. fut. of the copula in the latter text seems to be *biat*, *biat ri-siu co derb doratad fort selb* LL 147^a9, 'thou (?) wilt surely be a king, it has been given into thy possession,' subjunctive *corbat ri* 147^a17, 18. The usage in early Middle Irish up to SR is still rare, and, as will be seen, is confined to a limited number of adjectives.

§ 95. The question now is, how did the adjective come to be used with the substantive verb forms? One is at first inclined to think of the possibility of the spreading of the usage from the forms of the present consuetudinal, for which we have instances in Old-Irish. The syntax of the accented forms of the consuetudinal present *bíu* in O. Ir. practically corresponds to that of the other parts of the substantive verb (cf. Chap. II. above), and its unaccented forms correspond in their usage to those of the copula. The only difference noticeable is its non-use with the infixed pronoun. The instance *slán* which is used with *bíid* is also one of the commonest adjectives with the substantive verb in O. Ir. The adjectives which are most generally construed with the substantive verb in O. Ir. and up to the time of SR are, as may be seen from the material § 88, confined to a certain number—viz., *slán*, *lán*, *beo*, *marb*, (*meirb*), *ersoilcthi*, *dúntai*, *érchóilti*. If we investigate the way in which these adjectives are construed with other verbs, we find that they are mostly **such as can be used in agreement with the subject** (or in the case of *marb* with the object) **of certain verbs, or adverbially**.

Slán. Taking *slán* first we find in the instance quoted not only *bíid duine slán*, but also *imfolgni induine slan*², '(it) makes a man sound' (or 'well'). Cf. *docuatar imslán iarsin dia tig* Trip. Life 14, 9; *co tísad slán*, Cath Cairn Con. § 3; *raga slan úadib*, 'thou wilt go safe from them,' Dá Derga 137, *cach aen nothicfad slán úadi ib*.

¹ SC and LL 147a. The latter text has such old forms as *dia clor-sa do chui* LL 147a2, 'if I hear thy weeping,' *focicher i suan* LL 147a22, lit. 'it will put thee to sleep' = 'thou wilt go to sleep,' *nim-cicher i suan*, 'I shall not go to sleep.' *Focicher* occurs as late as SR, and Tochmarc Ferbe.

² Cf. *imfolngi induine firian* Wb 4d 32.

57, *cach fír dar na tecar slán* LL 215^a61, 7 *ticfad imslán co mbuaid* LL 229^a1 (T. Troi); *iarum rancatar dia taig soera slana somenmnaig* SR 3517, *doroichi-siu imslán a rí* T. Ferbe 159, *co roichet og-slán* FA (Wi I, 185, 2), *rosiachtadar slán arís* CGG XXXV (where, as in two of the other instances, *slán* is singular with a plural verb). *in topar asa ticfa slan* PH 419, etc. The construction is common in later Irish.¹ An instance of *slán* with the object is *dobert in cú in cairig slán* 'the wolf brought the sheep whole' Trip. Life 12, 17, where *slán* is not declined.

beo: *ní fhetaim-se dul beo asti* PH 2467, cf. *ica chor beo i talmain* Aid. Crimth. § 17 (ed. Stokes RC), *cor chuir-sium na mairb beoa as suas* PH 36, and Mod. Ir. *b'fhearr liom a dhul beo fá'n talamh glas*, etc., but *ro hadnaiced na geill tuctha andeas 7 siad beoa* Crimth. § 17, *nad roichet in cathraig asa mbíu* FA (Wi I, 178, 12). *Dia maireadh m'athair-si beó* Duanaire Finn XX, 28.

nocht: *réil do chach díb dath a chuirp o forfacaibthi gle-nuicht* (*nuicht* to rhyme with *chuirp*, 'since they were left stark naked') SR 1358. Cf. *confacca a mnai lomnocht* 1304, 'he saw his wife naked.'

marb: *ní fes ca galar ro-dn-uc acht a fhagbáil marb* LL 18^b 47 'it is not known what disease took him off except that he was found dead.' I have no other instance with *fo-gabaim*, but it could most likely be used with the other parts of the verb,²—e.g., *fo-frith marb*. Further *cona-tarlai marb*³ LL 278^b2, *condacattar marb* LL 279^b47, *ná co torchair marb* Ferb 584.

Other instances of an adjective thus agreeing with the object of a verb are *cid dot-gní torsech* Toch. Et. (LU, Wi 126) 'what makes thee sad?' *dom-ringne dérach dubach* LL 125^b8, *do ronsabar . . . mesi cunntabartach* PH 1805, 'ye have made me doubtful,' but *dorónais na cranda tirma corba[l] toirthech* PH 1358, 'Thou hast made the dry trees fruitful,' *dorigne a máimtiu corbat sithamla doib* PH 4044, 'He made their enemies peaceful to them.' *Ratracaib in rúad rinnech cáintech crechtach crolindech* LL 87^b17 (Táin). We may compare in Mod. Ir. *dá bhfágghainn-se an chruithneacht curtha* ACG, p. 42, 'if I had got the wheat sowed.' *Fuicéb-sa inn les obéla* CZ IV, 46, 12, Fráech.

¹ Cf. further 's *truagh nach d'fuirich thu slan* Máiri Alasdair Ruaidh, p. 267, *iodhlaic mé slán a hÉirinn*, Duanaire Finn 23, 39, *cuirfet-sa thu uatha slan* ib. 23, 42.

² Cf. *conidfuatarar secc* Trip. Life 222, 7.

³ Cf. *nó conotarla is tu secmarb* Ferb 471.

Active instances : *dessid Moissi. ba mod gle, for ochair na conaire. snimach saethrach bec a nert. a oenur ic sir-imthecht* SR 3745, 'Moses sat in distress and trouble beside the way . . .', *ac nech dorechad falum* ('empty') *uaithib-som gan ni* AS 3120. *7 ro sia immorro slán in cu* AS 6197.

Passive : *frith in seol timmarcthe* LU 3^a14; *brothach* ('boiling') *focress ina hucht* Thes. II, p. 339.

§ 96. Non-instances¹ : *do taet chuco 7 caeco ban uimme osse ogshlan gin on Fraech* CZ IV, p. 42, *tintaid i mBruidin 7 sé crechtach* Dá D. 139. *7 imthiagat o Bruidin co crechtach aithbris[te]* *7 athgoite* Dá Derga 14. *térna Eithne et si torrach* LJ, 23^b15, *ergimmit suas issind*² *slán* LJ, 207^a43 (= *eirghidmaoid suas go hóghlán* Duan. Finn 13, 41), *do chuatar co tren* SR 1701, etc., *lecar co foelid so-menmnach iat* PH 408, cf. 406, *túired co dethidech* 5344, *tangamar co crechtach crolintech as* Ac Sen 6505, *atconnarc-sa thu cu mor-bhuidnech* Ac Sen 15, 77, *do an co sidhchanta ina sesam*, 'he remained peacefully standing,' *atchonnacdur na tri hingena mongbuide 7 siat marb ar in tulaig sea* Ac Sen 3421, *dorochratar annsin 7 siat marb* PH 2161, *is turbaid em dam-sa, olsi, dul dia fhuaslucud-som 7 me alacht* LJ, 126^a25, 'and I pregnant,' *atracht Crist isin tres la 7 se coscrach o bas* PH 2047 *teit co toirsech isin dun* Muir. Mac Earca.

If the adjective comes before the verb then *co* is never used, as : *nuie tanicc cuccum-sa* Wb 7^o7. In *cruaidh ro-m-lensat tar gach lear* CGG XLVI, etc., we may suppose the copula understood : *is cruaidh*, etc. Cf. further : *truag rofersat an-nual* SR 1643, *tren doratus do menmain* SR 1866.

§ 97. I have added the above instances to show how far certain classes of adjectives may be used in connection with verbs, and in what cases they must be converted into adverbs. It is not clear that these adjectives could be used in earlier O. Ir.³ in connection with the subject of the verb. The instances *dotaet chuco . . . ossé ogshlan* in Táin Fr., *7 siad beoa* Aid.Crimth. *7 siat marb* PH, *7 se coscrach* PH are against this, and point to *7 é slán* or *osé slán* as being the construction in the older language. Hence we see that

¹ Add SR. 364 : *ri ros delba . . . hite remra ro ardda*.

² Cf. *osni failti* ML. 131b10, 'we glad.'

³ The earliest instances, with the subject, quoted above are from Cath Cúim Con., and the Trip. Life, cf. §4, note. Some of the instances of adjectives agreeing with the object are from such old texts as Táin Bó Fráich and Toch. Étaine.

not only did the use of such adjectives with the substantive verb but also with other verbs extend itself in early Mid. Ir., a certain amount of freedom from the O. Ir. construction being allowed.

§ 98. No doubt the special meaning of *bíu*, 'I am wont to be' was favourable to the use of the adjective. But in SR, we find the special set of adjectives, already mentioned, used with various parts of the substantive verb, and there is a possibility that they may have spread from the *bíu* forms. As regards the second adjective *fírian* in Wb 4^d33, it may be urged that it cannot be classed with the foregoing set of adjectives. If we translate into Mod. Ir., the two adjectives would not be connected by *agus*, but the order would be *bíonn sé slán fíréanach (fírinneach)*. Although *bhí sí deas* is not an allowable construction, still, when *deas* is preceded by another adjective, it is: e.g., *bhí sí óg deas*, and, in this way, *fírian* may have been used after another adjective. Again, *bid-slan* and *bid-fírian* obviously do not denote transient qualities. The explanation here is that *combi* is not the substantive verb, but the copula. The same explanation probably holds in the case of *combi mesc*.

§ 99. It is clear that, in the discussion of the use of the adjective with the substantive verb, such adjectives as those dealt with above must be treated separately. To these might be added *ersoilcthi* of Ml 46^a7 as it is equivalent in meaning to *óbela* of *juicebsa in lis óbela* Fræch CZ IV, 46, and *dúntai* of Im. Brain has the opposite meaning, but it is not clear that we have not here a beginning of the use of the substantive verb with the participle, instead of the copula, of which *nómbemmis érchóilti* Wb 9^a3 may be another instance. This latter has also the full form of the substantive verb. The instance *no-m-bin dermatach* Ml 20^a4, 'that I should be forgetful,' already referred to above, is according to its form the copula, even though it is preceded by *no*. Still the *no-* here may be regarded as the beginning of the confusion between the substantive verb and copula, in the construction with adjectives.

§ 100. But whilst in the 10th century and earlier texts only a limited number of adjectives can be used with the substantive verb, the usage has spread widely in PH. In this text, there are in common use two important classes—viz., the participles and the adjectives in *-ach* and these latter constitute the principal classes which are so used in Mod. Ir.¹ For this sudden spread

¹ Cf. § 56 above.

of the adjective with the substantive verb in Mid Ir. there are several possible explanations, (1) *buith* served as a verbal noun to both substantive verb and copula, and in its character as a noun it could, of course, have an adjective in agreement with it. Then, as its noun character became less obvious, the adjective might spread to the other substantive verb forms and thus become general. But if we allow this, then we shall have all adjectives used with the substantive verb, whereas we have seen that even in Mod. Ir. the number of adjectives so used is limited, and in Mid. Ir. still more so. Cf. for instance, *a beith maith* PH 6051, 6053. We find the opposite tendency already in PH, that is, the verbal noun corresponding in its usage to the other forms—e.g., *ar mbeth co forpthe* 7899.

(2) Another possible source is the cases **where the copula strongly resembles the substantive verb**—e.g., *bátar toirsich* Trip. Life. p. 84, *batar buidig do Dia* SR 4049, *amal bemis marb* PH 2967, cf. *amal beti* (leg. *betis*) *mairb* PH 3742. In the discussion on the O. Ir. use of the verb of existence § 72 ff, I have pointed out that the principal differences between the *b*-forms of the substantive verb and the corresponding forms of the copula were that (1) the latter were the unaccented forms of the former and (2) the accented forms were used in the position of an ordinary verb followed by their subject whilst the unaccented forms were followed immediately by the predicate—e.g., *robad maith a flaithemnas* MI 89^b9. In cases such as *bemmis*, *nombemmis* where the two forms were very much alike, and where, moreover, the subject was contained in the verb, one could easily come to be used for the other. Where the emphasising particles *-sa*, *-su* occurred they served to distinguish them. We find an interchange of forms in such an instance as *bia marb* (2 sg. fut.) LL 271^b33 beside *biat marb-so* LL 271^b40, a case where both forms could be used.

In the course of the 11th century, all verbs came to be accented on the first syllable¹ with a few exceptions which have survived to Mod. Ir., and this tendency was also present in the 10th century. In the same way, **the copula forms became, in certain positions, accented in the 10th century**, possibly being helped by the analogy of the substantive verb. Such positions were those in which the copula contained the subject: if the predicate came between it and the subject accentuation was not possible. Despite the affixed *-so*, *biat* (LL 271^b40) cannot, from its vocalism, be anything

¹ v. LAU, pp. 173, 174.

but an accented form. Similarly *biam tigerna* SR 855 beside *bam ri* 851. A further instance is *mar nobeind athair doib 7 nobetis-seom mec dam-sa* PH 6107. On the other hand, we find the substantive verb becoming unaccented like the copula in poetry in SC (Wi § 11) *no-t-icfitis diamtis¹ lat ingena Aeda Abrat*, unless we regard it as the copula and translate 'the daughters of Aed Abrat would heal thee if they were thine' (=Mod. Ir. *dá mbudh leat iad*, 'if they were thine'); but the sense of the context is against this rendering. A similar instance is Trip. Life, p. 82, 15, *comis secht maic lea 7 di ingin* where the context points to the meaning 'so that she had seven sons and two daughters.' Hence, we may conclude that there was a time when the substantive verb and copula became closely approximated. This, as I have indicated, was in the (late) tenth century² before the personal forms of the copula began to disappear. There was here a danger of the usages of the two sets of forms being levelled out, and such a levelling out actually took place in some cases. Amongst the most significant instances of the copula forms being replaced by the others, is the second person plural of the imperative, e.g. : *eirggid for set nabid uamnaig imeclaig* SR 4831, where the copula form becomes that of the substantive verb. Cf. *na bid for báis* SR 7988, *na bith* (2 pl.) *i cobadlus* Wb 22^b26, but *nadib leiscc* 7483 an attempt at a copula form. Cf. further *bed imthuge-si* Domino Wb 6^b3, *na-bad anfoirbthi-si* Wb 12^d26.

This levelling out did not spread very far, and instead of the imperative with the bare adjective there are instances in PH, such as *biid* (2 pl. ipv.) *co dethitech do rér na rig* 4061, where the substantive verb preserves its individuality of having an **adverbial predicate**. Side by side with this, is the usage with the adjective alone, as *biid-siu cuimigthi* (?) *i forcetul* 2537 (LBr 150^a), *bid forþthi* 2413 and this is the **rule with the participles**. There was a struggle between the two sets of forms, in which the predominance of the substantive verb was helped by the fact that all the forms of the copula which resembled it rapidly fell away, perhaps we should say, were ousted by the others. They had disappeared by 1100

¹ The other MS has *diantis*.

² The Tripartite Life, according to various indications, must have been written in the first half of the tenth century, cf. p. 3, note 1. The confusion may have been beginning then.

and there is not a trace of them in AS.¹ In this latter text, the subjunctive-imperative *corbat sidhuig* 581, etc., is replaced in the Franciscan MS. by the other construction *bidh co heisteachtach cailli. bid co féchsanach muighi* 600, with the adverbial predicate. In PH, a 2sg. of the imperative² is still employed : *bat cúimnech ina haimsire* 1208.

§ 101. In this way the copula, which was at first conjugated throughout, gradually degenerated into either mere forms of assertion with only a 3rd person singular which, later still, became impersonal or were used to bring forward a word or clause to be emphasised. In their use with participles, they were replaced by the forms of the substantive verb. The participles so used, except when they had become ordinary adjectives, such as *foirbthe*, were not preceded by *co*. Of this replacing of the copula by the substantive verb form before participles, we have possibly an early instance in Wb 9^a3 *amal nombemmis érchóilti* already referred to.

We should expect that with this widening of the usage of the substantive verb it would extend also to nouns, as it actually did in the instance *mar no-beind athair doib 7 nobetis-seom mec domsa*. But this tendency was met by the new development *atá sé ina righ*, which was in existence (as will be seen in the next chapter) from the beginning of the 11th century³ onward.

§ 102. Another question, in connection with this development, is why did the plural of the adjective in this construction become singular, why, for instance, did *nabid snímaigh, uamnaig, bid slána* become *na bid snímach*, etc? In the case of other verbs, *rancatar soera slana somenmnaig* of SR 3517 gives in the 11th century *coroichei slán* FA and *rosiachtadar slán* CGG—that is, an adjective is used which does not agree with its pronoun in number. Perhaps these adjectives came to be understood as adverbs. Even with the copula, when its old plural forms disappeared, *batar buidig ind fir* became *batar buidech*, cf. *ni-forn-intliuchtach* SR 5238, and in this way we have the rule that **all predicated adjectives became singular**. In some cases, as *amal nobetis co marthanach* an adverb was formed

¹ The 3 pl. *batir, batar* is replaced by *robsat, robo, ba*, etc.

² Unless we take it as a subjunctive.

³ Cf. *comboi ina chrois tri Chonchobar* Tochm. Ferbe 419, a late 10th or early 11th century text, and v. § 108, 4 and § 118 below.

with *co*, and this was of course singular in form. On the analogy of these, other words which were felt to be adverbial would be changed to the singular. Words like *érchóilti* would become *érchóilte*¹ according to the laws of Irish phonology. Cf. LAU, p. 84.

In such sentences as *deissid Moissi for ochair na conaire, snímach, saethrach* SR 3745, we might take *snímach* as dative in apposition to *Moissi* rather than qualifying it, just as *a oenur* in the same sentence. The final *-ach* of such adjectives would not become *-uch*. We are here met by the difficulty that for the plural *rancatar slana* we should, in that event, expect *slánaib*. The adjective in *-ib* is still regular in SR and could hardly be replaced by the non *-ib* form.

¹ As a matter of fact participles like *bainte*, *molta* are pronounced *ba(i)nti*, *moltaí* in some Connacht dialects (North Galway). The influence of participles like *beannuighthe*, *arduighthe* may be suggested, but in them *-e* is not pronounced *-i*.

CHAPTER III.

ATÁ SÉ INA FHEAR.

§ 103. In this chapter I deal with a construction of interest in connection with the syntactic development of the substantive verb. This is the well-known idiomatic phrase (a) *tá sé ina fhear*, 'he is a man,' lit. 'he is in his man,' *bhí sé 'na rígh*, 'he was a king.'

As regards the development of phrases of this type, it may be definitely stated that they did not exist in O. Ir., at least there is no trace of them in the large amount of material written during the O. Ir. period. Their place was taken by the copula—e.g., *co mbúi ina lobar* would have been *combo lobur*.

I have thought it well at the outset to give the material from a Middle Irish text in which the construction appears fully developed. For this purpose I have selected *Acallam na Senórach*.¹

IN ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH.

§ 104. The following are instances (1) of the substantive verb with *inna* of the type *ata sé ina fhear*, (2) of *inna* in other constructions (a) with verbs, (b) without verbs:—

1. *gu raibhe 'na cholun ghel* 1080, *dobi 'na mnai gradaig ac Find* 2125, *mur teined umpu . . . bith 'na usci* 6133, *fuil do chuirp ina cru thécht* 7576 (supply *beith* after *chuirp*), *dobi or atái at aenar* 2018, *ge beth mo chraide ina mairg** 4995.

Exceptions: *7 dobói d' aenmnai aici* 3333, *7 a beith don tres mnai acut* 2129, *mo beith d' aenmnai ac in fhir* 6679, *7 ar mbeith fein d' aenmnaib acaib* 7339.

2. *do riachtadar an Fhiann ina ndrongib 7 ina mbuidhnib* 3568, cf. 4701, *do eirgetar in Fiann ina tri cathaib cengailti* 6508, *tangadur ina cipe throm* 6623 (cf. LL 243^a36 *ina chruadchiipe chatha*), *cor chuir a chraide ina dublia fola tar a bél* 6999, *7 rochuir a craide ina lia fola tar a bél amach*, *is ussa leo foghal do dénam ina conaib ná ina ndáinib* (sic leg.) 7684, *roba ferr duib eistecht in bar ndáinib na in bar conaib* 7704, *leicid na aenur don dam* 5979, *coṭarla in tech in [a] choirchi chiúil* 3794, *co rabadur ar cuirp ina crolintib fola* 6495, *co faccadur in mbuidhin moir . . . da n-indsaigid ina da ndirma*² 5887.

¹ Cf. §2 above.

² The possessive pronoun, as in Mod. Ir., acts over *dá*, cf. *adam ech* 4903. Compare also *a tri ndeogaire* LL 30d50, *a tri n-eich* LL 30d53, etc.

(b) *inn ingen as ī óc ⁊ tusa at senoir chrīn* 3904.

3. Apposition with *inna*.

⁊ *a dá trian duinde inar fiannaib* 3038. ⁊ *sibh in bar macaib óclach* 3292, *acht mad thusa at aenar* 3656, *damad at aenfer duit* 3752, *nach dingébmairs inar triar* 6521, *ní fuil gein aici acht missi am aenar* 4087, *dobi a[c] Cailti 'na aenor* 4042, *acht Conan 'na aenur* 6741, *créd ro dithaig sibh uili in bar bhFéinn* 1093, *gia rofhedta-se at aenar ní di* 981.

Not to be confused are: ⁊ *tuc Find 'na thuarasdal do Chonan hí* 3915 (=in his wage), *tuc Cáille ina coibhche don inghin hí* 3918, cf. ⁊ *tabair d' Fir óc ina thuarastal* 3839, and *na hairm da ndernsamar maith ⁊ tucaissi a tuarustal duind*.

4. Apposition without *inna*:

do eirigh C. a oenar 1896, *tangamar . . . in seisir sciatharmach robamar* 5055, *tangamar-ne . . . in t-ocht ar xx brathar so* 5079, ⁊ *ochtur ar xx derbrathar atam sunn* 5082, *ochtur ar fichit . . . atamaid* 5082, (cf. *do riachtadar Fianna Erenn co leir annsin etir fir ⁊ mnái ⁊ gilla* 5268), "*in triur atamait*," *ar siat*, "*atá feidm ar leith ac cach aenfer acaind*" 5460, *tangamar-ne . . . deichneabar* 5525, *tricha cét ac cach fir acaind im dis seo atamait* 6272, *ro fregamar-ne triúr don Féin* 6479, *rochomraicemar ar lar na trága ar seisser óclach* 6482, *ri Alban do beith ann triur óclach* 6483, *atámuid triur bráthar* 6168, *ro lensamar-ne hé seisiur óclach* 5009, ⁊ *Find seissir óclach* 5149, ⁊ *doluidsemar-ne amach ar in faithche in cethrar óclach slán robamar* 5202, "*crét dogena sinne, in nonbar oclach so*," *ar Cáille* 689, *bemaitni, bid maith ar lí, triar álaind a n-aenbali* 5432.

IN EARLIER IRISH.

§ 105. The foregoing material shows that the construction *atá sé ina fhear* was fully developed by the time of Acallam na Senórach, though not so widespread as at a later time. Instances of the similar construction where *ina* = 'as'—e.g., *roba ferr duib éistecht inbar ndáinib*, are also common. In view of the fact that the construction, as it appears in this text, practically coincides with the modern Irish usage it will not be necessary to follow up its history for any later period. It remains to trace the origin of the construction, and, if possible, to ascertain approximately the time of its development.

For this purpose I give material in illustration of the development of the construction in its earlier stages. This is arranged under two heads—viz: (1) the use of the possessive pronouns

a, *an*-, etc., before a noun in apposition to a pronoun, and (2) the introduction of *in*- in apposition. I shall afterwards give (3) instances of *in*-, *ina* in early Middle Irish where it may be possible to take *in* in its original meaning, but which may have served as model for the development of the construction *atá sé ina fhear*, and (4^a) instances of *ina*==‘as’ ‘for’, (4^b) *ina* in its modern usage.

§ 106. **Apposition (without *in*) :**

(a) Dative without pronoun.

O. Ir. *isnini firíónaib* Wb 33^a7, *nanní adrochobursam firianaib* Ml 56^b24, *dinni preceptorib* Wb 10^d8, *indiunni israheldaib* Ml 94^d6, *errantes gl. macaib israhel* Ml 92^c3, *et hesom trius* Wb 7^c8.

nothegtis Ulaíd dond oenuch, fiur mnaí mac ingin LL 125^b54 Noenden Ul. Táin bó Fráich : *dochumlai-som ass iarum trib nón-baraib* CZ IV, 44, 32, (LL 251^b43) ; *doluid Oengus díb mbuidnib*¹ Trip. Life 130, 12, *anais sechtmain occai dí[b] feraib déac*, ib. 110, 10, *is ann duairthetar fir Muman inti Patraic .i. feraib, macaib, mnaib*, Tr. Life 216, 1, cf. ib. 216, 12 ; *bennacht for firu Muman feraib, maccaib mnaib* ib., *acht coro áinel ⁊ coro throiscet feraib mnaaib ⁊ maccaib sceo ingenaib* LL 215^a24, *Ulaíd fir sceo mnaib ingenaib* LL 109^b1 (Táin) ; *tancatar fir hErend mnaib, maccaib, ingenaib and*² LL 23^b26, cf. Trip. Life 4, 6, 20 ; ⁊ *ro bámar ní xv feraib*³ Dá Derga 102 ; *not-gluaisfiter dond oen phort macaib mnaib* T. Ferbe 788.

(b) Dative with pronoun.

Old Irish ; from the Glosses :

as mē m' oinur aridrochell Sg 202^a7, *intan mbite a n-óinur* Sg 207^a7 (=Mod. *ina n-aonar*), *is doib a n-oinur adcomalltar* (sic. leg.) Sg 208^a29, *ní bad a óenur dó* Wb 14^a21, *bis a oinur* Ml 102^a17, *ataam ar ndiss i cuimring* Wb 32^a28, *manibet a ndiis* Ml 14^c4, 35^d24, *ó ru-biam . . . innar tegdaís ar n-oendiis* Cod. S. Pauli II., (Mod. *an bheirt (dis) againn*) ; *manibet a triur* (=Mod. *an triúr aca*), *ar n-óis rechto* Wb 31^d1.

Other sources :—

ba fiu Eirinn a oenur AU 901, *cona bui acht se a hoenur hissin lestur* Comp. Con. (=Mod. Ir. *acht é in 'aonar*), *cía táí th 'oenur innossa* Toch Ferbe 434, *bui-seom inti Noisi a aenur* Usn. (Wi § 8), *a óinur* ib. § 9, *dígélat m'oenur m'athair* LL 27^b14—Corm. macCuil.

¹ This is rather a dative of accompanying circumstances, but cf. Dá Derga 102.

² Literally one might translate ‘the men of Ireland came there, with their wives, sons and daughters.’

³ Some of the other MSS have *fer*:

m'oenuir LL 65^b27, *a oenor* LL 27^b24 (ib.), *acht Ethne a hóenuir* SC¹ (Wi § 6), *duit-siu th' oenuir* (ib. Wi § 6), *acht Fand a hoenuir* ib. 45, *condusced a cenuir*, 'he used to awake of his own accord,' LL 59^b25, *acht tu th'óinur* Trip. Life 164, 22, *acht é a óenuir*, Da D. 98, *no thogfaind-se* (leg. *dogegainn-*) *etruib far ndís* Usn. § 9, "*tiagam ar ndís*," ol *Conaill Táin Bó Fraich* CZ IV. 45³⁷, *documlat ass a triar tar muir* ib. p. 45 127, *lotar a triur* Carn Con.² II, *immacomarnic ndosom friu i triur* Toch. Em. CZ III 253, *gabsad a triur anside ithe na caer* Im. Maile D³ XXX, *co rochruired cach dib a triur a druim* Usn. § 8, *lotar-som an-ocht feraib déc* MD³ XXX (RC, x, 74), *anaid sund conda risa mo choicait* LL 276^a31 (Mór Muman), *immos-tuarcad a ndíb cóicdaib* LL 276^a26 (ib.), *la n-and dóib an-ingenaib uilíb sind inbiur* Toch. Étaine (LU Wi I., 131, 13).

Middle Irish :

a oenuir LL 207^a39, etc., *arna tiasair th' oenuir* LL 65^b27—*Táin*, *do lecad th' oenuir* LL 65^b9 (ib.), *ar ndís* LL. , etc., *orn ar triur in oeninud* LL 207^a37 (Duan F. p. 30), *7 rabeind-se ara chind ar bru mara, mo thri choicait amus* LL 51^b18 (non-dative), *is la demnaib a n-oenuir* Fis. A. (Wi, p. 190, 1), *atúsa sund mo sain-teglach dib trichtaib cét* LU *Táin*, Ériu, l. 178; *co torchrator a ndís* T. Ferbe 244, *noigluaisfiter dond oenphort maccaib mnaib* ib. 788.

SR : *a oenuir* 2517, etc., *acht ind fic-omna a hoenuir* 1362, *nobid acht mad maith a oenurán* 1242, but *acht se oenuir⁴ sa oenben* 1888, *condechsam ar ndís* 1155, *co ndechsath a ndís malé* 1161, *beith mole . . . a ndís do chorp is t'aním* 1436, *acht Noe a ochtur fo brón* 2721, *ar firinni a oenuran* 2786 *do deochad monenur* 3097 (leg. *m'oenuir*), *7 mé . . . m'oenuir* 401, *nobid a oenuir* 871, *nochodlad a oenuir* 875.

§ 107, 2. **Apposition with in.**

O. Ir. *acht messi am aenuir* Mael Dúin⁵ XXX (YBL).

Middle Irish :

is bás duib-si in-farn-Ultaib⁶ LL 112^b47—*Muc M. Dathó⁷, dúinni nar n-Ultaib* LU 56^b30, 41, *is gess duib in far n-Ultaib* LI, 65^b43.⁸

¹ Sergl. *Conculaind*, Wi. Ir. Texte 1. This text cannot be classed as O. Ir., but it is at all events very early Middle Irish. See Zimmer, KZ 28.

² Ed. Stokes CZ III, 203.

³ Ed. Stokes RC. ix, x.

⁴ Leg. *acht sé* [a] *óenuir*.

⁵ RC x p. 72. This instance is, in all probability, due to the Mid. Ir. MS.

⁶ Cf. Pedersen, CZ II, 387.

⁷ This text, in the LL version, has n. *in tech* 112b11.

⁸ The *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. The LL version is in several respects very late.

leic-siu etruind féin innar n-Ultaib Ferb 218 (Wi., LL), *acht imsdáiset na da feraib déc foe fa chetoir* Wi. Táin 2910, *is truag aní 'narta de 'nar ndaltaib* Scathaighe LL 88^b22 (Táin) 'sad is the result to us.'

SR : *cocrait na mbrathreib a brath* 3131, 'they, the brothers, conspire to betray him.' cf. *tuctha co neoch ros-techtai 'na cimmidib cumrechtai* 3561, *na tiastais aidid ngorta inna lainib lomnochta* 3407, 'in naked multitudes' ('mani-ness') (cf. *issed robac in-aes Noe* 2262).

PH : *co rop sib tóisech in bar mbannscálaib indises*¹ 2972. *dénaid calma dún na ro-doerthar 'nar ndis* 3875 7 *do icfam-ne inar n-aingliu mar caeraib tened* 7260.

3. ina.

§ 108. O. Ir. :

'*Dirim atchiu-so don dún,*' else '*ina llin,*' Fraech CZ IV, 34, 'I see a crowd coming in a body to the fort'; *folt forgarb forruad ina gibnib foa cend Toch. Em. CZ III, 247*, 'very rough, very red hair in jagged masses about her head.' *cach fiche inna lurg fo leith* Comp. Con. (Wi. I. 137, 1), 'every twenty formed a separate troop,' *combatar ina líní fon samail sin* Fled. Br. (Wi. I. 287, 1), 'so that in that manner they formed a line' (or 'formed themselves into a line'), *ibid ina dig iarom . . . al- lind* (ib. Wi. I. 283, 25, *Eg ina aendig*), 'he then drinks the wine at a draught,' cf. *ibid Cu iarum ina oendig allán* (ib), *báatar Ulaid ina turchomrúic im Chonchubur* SC 24, 'the Ulstermen were in an assembly together with Conchubur.'

Compare *foscercad ina mbuidne fochetoir* Táin 213 (LU; YBL has *buidneb*).

Non-instance : cf. *Loch Leibinn do shoudh i fuil co tarla a partiu croo amail scamhanu inna imbechtar* AU 865, 'Loch Leibhinn was turned into blood so that it became (lit. 'changed it') lumps of gore like lungs round its border,' cf. Tochm. Ferbe, l. 433, also (D. 4^a), also *co mbói ina chroiss tri Chonchobar* T. Ferbe 419 below.

Middle Irish :

amal bite na comsreith SR 4898, 'as they are in an even row,' cf. *dia claind choir ina comsreith* 2986. Compare *na ule doeni do essergi i fer forbthe* Res. § 17 (LU), *atchondairc a archoin 'na gabtib rointi* LL 64^a20—Táin, 'he saw his watch-dog cut up into pieces,' *mail robammar 'nar cathaib* LL 208^a2, 'as (?) we were in batta-

¹ 'So that ye women may be the first who tell.'

lions,' *i torchratar ina tolaib, fir hErenn* LL 19^b8, 'in which the men of Ireland fell in great masses' (lit. 'floods'), *conerracht in muir . . . ina immairib anfoille . . . ⁊ ina colbaib gorma* LL 219^b35 Tog Troi, 'the sea in aroice in unsteady (i.e., moving) ridges . . . and in blue pillars,' *co mén-scailed in fecht aile ina ettrigib anfoilli ⁊ ina hallaib uathmara* LL 219^b37, 'it used to yawn at another time in moving furrows and terrific cliffs,' *coméirgi in mara ina reib uath-mara* LL 236^a44, *is and frith ina cruaiach isin gurt he* Corm. Sw. 46, 'it was then found as a stack in the field,' *is and frith ina aenchruiach thuighthe isin les he* Corm. Sw. § 46, *⁊ is amlaid frith, ina crumaibh iarnabharach é* Moling, p. 40, *co rabi 'na crois triit* Tog. 'Trói 980; *conerracht in muir trén ina essaib ardda . . . ⁊ ina coppib glegala ⁊ ina mbunnib gelglasa* (ib) LL 230^b25, *tancatar Tuatha De ina caipaib ciach* LL 4^b18.

FA. *naim thuascirt . . . ina ndib n-airechtaib dermáraib* (LU Wi I. 172, 12). LBr version has *noim tuaiscirt . . . a ndib oirechtaib dermaraib*, 'the saints of the north in two great assemblies,' *acht is amlaid ro-s-coraig . . . gnúis fri gnúis ina srethaib ocus ina corónib* (LU Wi. I. 177, 12, LBr id.), 'He arranged them thus . . . face to face in rows and crowns (circles).'

4 (a) **ina**=as, for.

§ 109. O. Ir. : Wb : *et gebtit iudei in apaid* Wb 26^a8.

Im. Brain, Compert Con., Fled Bric. : No instance.

Tochm. Emire : *anmoin in anmoin, olsi* CZ III, 254 "' a life for a life," says she.'

Táin bó Fráich : No instance. (A non-instance is *in tsuil do roglaisi osse maeth-oclach gin locht*, 'the eye of deepest blue and he a soft youth without a fault.')

LL has *ishe maethoclach*.

Longes mac nU. : No instance.²

Im. Máile D. : No instance except *no-thairissed ina thost inna muir immon insi immacuairt* XXV (LU.). Stokes translates *inna muir* 'in its sea,' and it is possible to take *inna* in this sense, but to me the other meaning 'as a sea' seems more probable, at least as far as the text in this MS. is concerned. A possible non-instance is *atracht am-muir impe suas co ndearnai alle dimora impe* (ib XXII.), 'so that it became great cliffs around it.'

Sergl. Con. : No instance.

¹ Ed. Stokes Ir. Texte III.

² The sentence *dolluid didiu Eogan ina thur iarsind faidche* Wi. I. most probably means 'E. went with (or 'in') his company across the plain.'

Middle Irish :

Tochm. Ferbe¹ : *i mbói (Mani ina chroligi fola) ⁊ ina chro-partaig* 433, 'where Mane was in a bed of gore and (as) a mass of blood.' This instance probably belongs to the next sub-division (4^b). *Co mbói ina chrois tri Conchobar*, ib, 419. *Co rabi 'na crois triit Tog*. Troi 980, but *corbo chross thall tharsna triana chliab* (LL, 255^a17) T. Ferbe 243.

FA : *ni aicfeá delb duine fair . . . acht 'na dlúim thentide* (IU, Wi I., p. 176, 10 ; L.Br. *acht ina dlúim deirg*), 'but as a fiery mass'; *tri leca logmara . . . ocus al-lethe uachtaracha ina locharnaib for lassad* (IU, Wi I. 178, 4 also L. Br.).

Various texts : *ar isé da-rigni ina nóidin*—'Tog. Troi LL, 222^a4, 'for it is he who did it as a child.' Cf. LL, 222^b7 *donti dorigni sein ina nóidin*. Cf. **tri haiscedha . . . ina cumain* Irish Ordeals § 28 'in return for it,' 'as its equivalent value.'

PH : *dáig co ro-n-gabthar inar mbraithrib do Christ ⁊ inar macaib togai* 7883, 'that we may be taken as brothers of Christ, etc.' ; *gabaim-se in grian ina fiadain* 2945, *gabaim nem ⁊ talam na fhiadnaib* 2728, *ise ro-orðaig C. 'na iúdec foraib-si* 2770, *am dall ruccad me-si* 2785, 'I was born blind,' *ro-artraig in slog deman ina smúit chéu* 7237, *ro hergabhad ina gilla bec he* 6948 ; perhaps also *biaid t 'animm ina ghill co sír* 7451, 'your soul will be ever responsible for it,' lit. 'as a pledge for it.'

4 (b).

bai slicht in chalaíd cu cnaim : 'na fhalaig 'mán find-láim LL

¹ Ed. Windisch, Ir. Texte III, 2. T. Ferbe contains the nom. pl. masc. of the article *ind* : *ind óic* 93 which occurs for the last time in AU at 999, the n. pl. m. *na* commencing at 985. Nom. pl. *na* also occurs (155). The text has such old verbal forms as *co topacht (Gerg in cend di)* 231, *conattacht (díg)* 235 *docechaing* 73, *cechaing* 195, 843, *focicher* 648, *ar-nom-tha* 141, *rondirig* 416, which forms become rare in the early 11th century. Cf. LAU, pp. 170, 171. Its copula and substantive verb forms are generally later than those of SR, and it contains compound verbs with absolute endings—e.g., *tairlingit* 81, *tecait* 82, *tócbait* 116, also 179, 215, 236, 378, 863. Of this there are instances in SR, v. LAU, p. 174. It contains the 11th century *marend hé* 531 to rhyme with *choceile*. Also the perfect passives in *-it*, *ro-esáit* 65, *coro-múchait* 80, *ro-dichennait* 678 of which there are instances in Dá Derga, pp. 25, 58, 127, and in AU 1014 to 1187. It has 3sg. preterites like *tafnis* 429, *dúscis* 131, *imthigis* 389, perfects *rogon* 420, *rofodail* 513, *rolen* 739. Cf. LAU, p. 171. On the whole we shall be safe in placing this text at about the end of the tenth or at the beginning of the eleventh century.

LL 49^a35¹ is amlaid atá in rigsadi sin inna chathair chumtachta co cethri colomnaib do liic logmair foi Fis Ad. (LU Wi I. 174, 15, cf. L. Br. ina chathair), isí robói ic Lug na lend . . . na hibur (as a yew shaft) alle bidbad LL 207^b27. bes ina bibdaid Ériu V, p. 22.

PH: cen fis accu beos he buden ina cristaige 56, 7 tu hi t'erbraige 81 cen adbar . . . ata ina peccad marbtha and fein 7321, 7706, 7 atá in chuit-se . . . ina éthech 7322, ce raib se ina fhír 7324, bid adbur acut luige . . . 7 bid in-adbar² choir 7 i[n]a fírinde 7343, atat mo pheccaid ina n-eri throm for mo muin 7359, in comfhat bís in madrad ina chuilén 7416, ata si ina dubachus 7430, combi inti dobeir hi ina simontaig 7595, bui ina lobar 376, roboi 'na rig 2572, a beith ina chóraid chalma 6269, a beith ina gloir ac diablaib 7435, Ísu a beth na mac mná pósta 2677, atái-siu hi-t-óclach do 2817, bid gadaige ina oclaechaib (sic) occu 7530 ata ina peccad ann fén 7612, co fil cech céim ina peccad marbtha 7810, roboi Teodbair . . . 'na rig for in popul Iúdaide 2572, 7 tu fen at gredda 2619, gabaim-si in grian ina fiadain form 2606, atá peccad na drúisi ina dígbáil don chomarsain 7442, cf. dia rabut 'na comairsin dó 7449, co rab 'na luaithred 3623, batar ina niúl gel 7238, amal bís arán ina thúis da³ cech caithem 7534.

Duanaire Finn⁴: sul rabhar mo ghúin ghalann 3, 25, Magh Maoín na fhasach 3, 39, do sir Goll an filidh sin 'na thechta go mac Cumhaill 4, 8, ó dobhádor na n' énar 4, 45, ad chuirr 8, 7 acht a beith . . . na adhbha 16, 14, o ataoi ad cliemain 17, 80, dobhi 'na fhiadhach meabla 18, 6, co mbíadh 'na airdrigh oraibh 20, 80, meisi féin um senoir 27, 3, Conn na ri ar Eirinn 35, 14, cf. raghaidh ina n-einech dhaibh.

§ 110. Adjectives:

is a mbeo beres an-as beodu 7 an-as ségundo—Táin, Strachan, p. 23, cf. Mod. tabair beo let é, Fierabras § 229; ragaid do beo no do marb, ar in mac LL 66^a34—Táin, is mo beo ragas . . . 7 is mo marb focebthar (ib); is a marb ricfad . . . nibad a beo LL 66^b14, cf. LL 67^b4.

Cf. Wb cid less ar mbéo et ar m-marb Wb 6^b20, but as adj. dorochair marb.

otaám inarbiu Trip. Life 140, 11, 'since we have been alive,' ní accu si inna bíu ib. 168, 23.

¹ In a poem immediately following one which tells of the death of Brian Borúma. The language of the poem is late.

² The possessive *a* 'its' probably fell out before a vowel as in Modern Irish.

³ Notice *de* becoming *da* before *cech* as in Modern Irish *dá gach*.

⁴ The numbers refer to the poems and stanzas respectively.

§ III. Exceptions :

I give here the following alternatives (a) to the use of the possessive pronoun in apposition, and (b) to the use of *ina*=as. It will of course be unnecessary to repeat the large number of instances of (a) in the case of numeral nouns, such as *cret dogena sinne in nonbar óclach so* (AS 689) which I have already given under *Acallam na Senórach* § 104.

(a) *cia de as dilsiu doib for domun inda taedin* Maelmuru of Fólhan (AD. 884), LL 133^b8, 'which at all is the most proper for them, the two troops (Scots and Gaels).' *Luid Conchobar trí choicait laech impu sin* T. Ferbe 168, *erig-siu trí coicait cucu ib.* 130.

(b) : *ní bia mo mathair oc fognum ⁊ me mac¹ righ Herenn*—Eachtr. mac Eachach (§ 4 Ed. Stokes. B has *mo mac*) ; *int suil do roglaisi osse maeth-oclach gin locht Fraech* CZ III., 254 ; *na tuc colaind an pecthaigh forum os me duine naem craibdech* MD XXXIII, cf. *tu-sa ⁊ tu comarba Petair ⁊ cend na hecailsi . . . do slechtain* PH 586.

A different mode of expression is :

conid in oenfhecht rángatar a thri gaibti rainti co talam uad LL 72^a36 (Táin), 'so that it was at the same time the three portions of him fell to the ground,' where *a thri gaibti* is subject.

do : biid do anmaim na cathrach Sg 104^b5 ' (Samnis) is as the name of the city.' ⁊ *Benén do gillu leu* Trip. Life 46, 26, *roboi do cretraib leu ib* 14, 17, 'they held it as a relic.' *oc ool usci . . . do dig* SR 1893 ; *adcoibrastar side in mnai .i. Ness do mnai do* LL 106^a, *imm a beth ace do enmnai* LL 221^b3 ; ⁊ *ingen Loeguirí leis do mnai* Trip. Life 168, 6, *Findabair do sen mná duit* YBL 35^b16. *in lín robammar d' jiannaib* LL 207^b50.

dí : ra thuisim claind airegda n-imdai dó di maccaib ⁊ d'ingenairb LL 226^b44.

etir . . . ⁊ =both and : *beti andsin na huli . . . eter pfecthachaib ⁊ firenu* Sc L. Br. § 5 ; cf. with nouns *fir in tsithu etir righu ocus coemfiru ocum chuingid* Toch. Et. 120 ; *no-chuirfed in Troe fó gin gai ⁊ chlaidib etir fher ⁊ mnai* LL 229^b36 ; *marbad in tslóigh archena etir maccu ⁊ ingena* LL 230^a10, ⁊ *sál chlaidib dar lucht na cathrach etir sen ⁊ óc* LL 230^a7, *marbad in tslóig archena etir maccu ⁊ ingena* LL 230^a10, *ar diambetis etir biu ⁊ marbu Ulaid in enbali* LL 109^b3.

Copula² : A clear instance is *uair bá córu a bith combad aegairi*

¹ The B version has *me mo mac*.

² There are several instances of the copula, such as *bat ifernach* MD XXXIII, 'thou wilt be a dweller in hell,' which would in Mod. Ir. be expressed by the construction *is ifrionnach a bhéas ionnat*.

cairech Trip. Life 16, 29, 'for he should more fittingly be a shepherd'; cf. *tuc buille don torc gur macdomh óg* Duan. 17, 61. Where the pronoun was included in the copula form the instances are naturally very numerous, but a few typical examples must suffice:

amal bed oen chloch calca uile MDuin XI, *ranic dam iarom gursa coic innte* ib. XXXIII, *bassa droch coic ib*, etc.; *comtar comaltai optar noidin* LL, 278^a, *ropo milid* SR 2701, *ropo felsam* 2702, *arnaptís táisig* Tog Tr. LL, 221^b, *ond uair robam noide* PH 6105. Cf. further *co mbo óen smúit fhorloiscthe in macha uile* LL, 119^a13, *fer atchichead ina chollad is e bad ri Dá Derga* 11, *basa thóisech sa oro bá ir-richl setha* LU 16^a14.

REMARKS.

§ 112. In the above, I have endeavoured to arrange the material according to the separate stages of the development:

1. The use of the dative in apposition.
2. The use of the possessive pronoun with a noun (in dative) in apposition to a pronoun.
3. The development of *inna*.
4. The use of *in*, *ina* = 'as,' and (b) instances of the construction in question.

(1.) The use of the dative without the possessive, as, *isnini firiónaib*, is probably the oldest development, but as the construction with the possessive pronoun is also used in Wb, we have no satisfactory evidence of this. The use of the dative, in *dinni preceptorib*, would not be remarkable, but the instances of its occurrence with the nominative are sufficient. Such constructions as *notheigtis Ulaíd dond óenuch*, *fiur*, *mnái*, *mac*, *ingin* would generally have *eter* (*etir*) in later Irish. Here it may be pointed out that the nominative, in this case, is a noun. In some of the archaic poetic language of the Old Ir. saga texts, the dative is often used without a preposition¹, thus Usn. (Wi § 2) *bruidit (bruit) cluasaib cluinethar* (dat. instrum.) 'it crushes him who hears it with his ears,' *biat iarthur tromthoraib* 'they will be in the west with mighty multitudes' (?) For the latter instance *cona tromthoraib* or even *inna tromthoraib* might be used in later Irish. The phrase *biat iarthur tromthoraib* is very

¹ The sentence *is triana cín ata sund in tarbech sinte comlund* T. Ferbe 260 is hardly an instance, as *i* may have fallen out between *sinte* and *comlund*.

like the later construction. It only wants *in* plus the possessive pronoun.

Pedersen, CZ II. 380, adduces the instance *is é nobenfad a crand óenbémim di bun* LU 58^b21, 'it is he who would cut the tree with one blow from the butt.' In this case *do* is used in later Irish—e.g., *Dubthach do marbad Mane . . . dond oenforgam* (leg. *for gab*, 'a blow'). This is, however, an instrumental dative and never would give the construction in question, whilst the foregoing instance like *nanni adrochobursam firionaib* is a dative absolute or a dative of accompanying circumstances.

(2) The instances of the use of the possessive pronoun in O. Ir. with this dative absolute, if we may so term it, are largely confined to the numeral nouns *óinur*, *días*, *triur*, etc. Thus *bói a óinur*, 'he was "by himself" ' 'alone' in Modern Irish is often paraphrased *bhí sé leis fein* (= *bhí sé ina aonar*). Im. Máile Dúin has *a n-ocht feraib dec*, Mór Mumhan has *immos-tuarcat a ndíb cóicdaib*, etc. It is a remarkable fact that after a time in Mid. Ir. the possessive pronoun seems to be falling away from this construction, particularly in the larger numbers, and the dative is replaced by the nominative, e.g., *ro lensamar he seissiur óclach* AS, except in the case of *oenur* which develops *ina*. In the instance cited *seissiur* may be dative, but cf. n. *seissiur* 5027 ib.

§ 113. As regards the time of the appearance of *in* in this construction *ina oenur*—e.g., *dobi ac Cailti 'na aenor* Ac. Sen. 4042, (cf. 6741, etc.) there is not, as far as I have been able to determine, any trace of it in Old Irish, except the instance *messi am aenur* Mael Dúin XXX, which, in all probability, is to be attributed to the Mid. Ir. manuscript, YBL. Cf. also *a oenur* AU 901 (=902). Further, there is no instance of *ina oenur* in SR, though there are several instances of *a oenur*—e.g., *Enoc . . . a oenur o thuinn do thuinn* 2517, cf. *condechsam . . . ar ndís* ib. 1155, cf. 1242, 2786, etc. The instances of *oenur* in PH point to the form *ina oenur* as not having developed at the time the work was composed—probably in the second half of the 11th century. Hence, we cannot take *ina oenur* as helping in the development of *atá sé ina fher*, as there are several instances of the last mentioned type of phrase in the text of the Passions and Homilies.

§ 114. One might be inclined, at first sight, to take this construction *atá sé ina rígh* as a sort of predicative dative like the well-known constructions 'to be to his credit,' detriment (*honori*,

detrimento esse), but a consideration of its development does not show the explanation to be so simple.

I have given instances of the earliest appearances of what seems to be the origin of this phrase, beginning with the dative in apposition.

The phrase *ataam ar ndís i cuimring* is however a different type from *atá sé ina fhear* and the latter cannot be immediately explained from the former without further proof. We have seen that O. Ir. had (1) a dative in apposition, and (2) before this dative a possessive pronoun. It now remains to be explained how *in-* got into the phrase under discussion.

§ 115. We had, in early Mid. Ir. and possibly even in O. Ir., the distributive use of *in-* with a possessive pronoun which more closely connected its noun with the foregoing noun which it describes—e.g., *folt forgarb forruad ina gíbnib foa cend*—Toch. Emire, *conerracht in muir ina immairib* Tog. Troi, 'the sea arose in ridges.' Cf. (3) above for further instances. Side by side with this, we find a closely connected *in-*='as,' without the pronoun in *na ule doeni do essergi i fer forbthe*, 'that all human beings should arise **as** a perfect man.'¹ When we compare this latter with the foregoing it can be easily seen how a phrase *do essergi ina feraib forbthib* would be developed and from this the construction would spread to *bith (beth) ina feraib forbthib*, *bátar ina feraib forbthib*, etc. In like manner *do beth na mbrathirsi* SR 3056 would easily give rise to *cocrait 'na mbrathreib* 3131, 'they, the brothers, conspire,' and from this again *do beth 'na mbrathrib*. There were also phrases like *is and frith ina aenchrúaich thuighthi isin les he*—Corm. Sword² 46, where it is not clear whether *in-* had its usual meaning of 'in' or not. A similar instance is 7 *is amlaid frith ina crumaib iarnabarach e* Moling, p. 40. The meaning *in-*='for, as' is also very old; cf. *anmoin in anmoin* Toch. Em., 'a life for a life.'

An instance of *in-*, meaning 'as,' occurs in Wb 26^a8 *gebtit³ Iudei in apaid*, 'the Jews will receive him as a lord.' One is strongly tempted to compare this with a similar construction with a closely related verb *frith ina chrúaich hé*. The transition from *frith* to *bói*, *atá* (cf. § 95, 96) would be very easy, and if we substitute *bói*, *atá*, etc., we have the other construction *bói ina apaid*. This assumed develop-

¹ Cf. *in* in the meaning 'as.' I have given instances above, § 109.

² Ed. Stokes, Ir. Texte III.

³ We may also compare 7 *gebait im fiachu amal atá Da Derga* 61.

ment of *in-* 'as' to *ina* we have actually in SR 3561 *tuctha co neoch rostechtai 'na cimmidib cumrechtai*, 'they were brought¹ with that which they have (?) as fettered prisoners.'

§ 116. The gradual development of the phrase may be thus briefly summed up. The construction (*ina*) was not an accidental development. (1) There was already the ground for it in the old dative in apposition in sentences of the type *nanni adrocho-bursam firianaib*. (2) The possessive pronoun was introduced in order to connect more closely the word in apposition with a preceding pronoun or with the pronoun in the verb—e.g., *la n-and doib a n-ingenaib uilib* Tochm. Et. (Wi I. 131, 13) just as in *ibid ina dig . . . a l-lind* Fl. Br. (Wi I. 283, 25), etc. After a time, as in other positions also the use of a dative without a preposition was becoming obsolete, a preposition would here be sought out or taken over. (3) This preposition was already at hand in the closely related use of *in* = 'as'² of which I have given instances above. The preposition which replaced the old dative was not in every case *in-*. It was sometimes *do* which was regular for the old instrumental dative. For the sense of accompaniment *co* was used as *luid Niall co n-uatib* AU 916, *dorocht Medb co secht cetaib laech le T. Ferbe* 723. The preposition *in-* = 'as', itself became *ina* also on the analogy of a closely related *ina* in the sense of **distribution** as in the instances already quoted, *folt forgarb ina gibnib foa cend* Toch. Em. (CZ III, 247). There are instances where it is not quite clear whether *in* was used in its original sense or not, as *i mboi Mane . . . ina chro-partaig* Toch. Ferbe, and further ones like *7 al-lethe uachtaracha ina lócharnaib for lassad* FA, which help to merge the one construction into the other. When once the construction had developed for verbs of

¹ Leg. *nostechta* (?) Mid. Ir. It might be possible to translate 'they were brought with him who held them,' but this would do violence to the meaning of *techtaim*.

² This use of *in* = 'as' is not confined to Irish. It is also common in the Romance languages—e.g., Ital. *il l' ha ricevuto in dono*, 'he has received it as a gift.' Cf. French *ils sont armés en chevaliers*, 'they are armed as knights;' *il a agi en preux*, 'he has acted as a valiant knight.' This usage in French is probably not very old; the last example would be in O. Fr. *il fist que preux*, cf. Roland 1209. The Welsh construction *yr oedd Arthur yn frenhin*, 'Arthur was a king,' is no parallel, as here *yn* is the dative of the article. Cf. the formation of adverbs in O. Ir.

motion, finding, bringing, etc., *táinic*, *fríth*, *tucad*, (4) the use of *atá* for one of these verbs whose constructions it resembled in many respects¹ would be quite simple.

§ 117. The resulting phrase *robói 'na rí* was not inconsistent with the existing construction of *atá*. *Atá* was generally followed by a preposition or adverbial phrase and we have seen that, even in O. Ir., the forms of the substantive verb to express existence were supplemented by *and*, as *ataat alaailli interiecta* and Sg 10^a1, etc. This is of course a separate construction, but it would help to spread the use of *in-* with *atá*. I may here mention the instance in Wb 6^b6 *nách maith ani itáa*, 'that his state² (?) is not good,' instead of *nách maith amal rongab*³ and from this it would seem as if the construction were starting from *atá* itself. A similar instance is Wb 17^d24 *sech ani ittó*, 'beyond that which I am' for *sech anī nondixnigur-sa*, but cf. *ondi rondgab* Pcr. 53^b1. But it is impossible to trace the development of the phrase in question to this source, as there are no instances of the fully developed form for two hundred years after the time of the Wb glosses.

§ 118. As regards the date of the development, the instances quoted above show that *ina* in apposition had developed by the time of SR, and LU Táin, though there is no instance of the full construction *átá sé ina fhear*. Moreover the frequent occurrences of the phrase with the substantive verb in its Mod. Ir. form, in the Passions and Homilies⁴, show that this latter form must have developed soon afterwards. Other early instances are *bái slicht in chalaíd co cnaim 'na fhalaig [i]mán findlaím* I.L. 49^a35. and those quoted above from FA, etc.

Such occurrences, taken in connection with the condition of the development in SR, Tochmarc Ferbe and PH respectively, show that the phrase *robói 'na rí* developed in the first half of the 11th century, and from the beginning of that century onward. **The date of the development is more accurately fixed by the occurrences**

¹ Cf. above § 95, 96, 97.

² Cf. *is ferr a chách itosa* SC § 28, 'my state is getting better and better.'

³ Later *mar atá*.

⁴ This text I have already attributed to the late 11th century. It has, however, the dat. pl. of adj. commonly without *-ib*. But this is probably to be largely attributed to the MS. Cf. the LBr. omission of *-ib* in Fís Ad. where LU has always the full d. pl. form.

in **Tochmarc Ferbe**¹ which cannot be later than the beginning of the 11th cent., and in **Fís Adamnáin** (in both L.U. and L.Br.) a text which must, from other considerations, have been composed in the first quarter of the 11th century. Pedersen, CZ II, 380 translates Wb 24^b21 *ni robe cach réit inna dligud daratsidsi immurgu ar for foirbthetu* by "dies alles war keine Pflicht ; Ihr habt es aber trotzdem wegen Eurer Vollkommenheit gegeben." Such an interpretation would practically put the date of the development in the 8th century, but the translation is not justified and should be as Stokes and Strachan have it, "all this was not as a due," or better 'in its due condition.' *Inna dligud* is the opposite of *assa dligud* which occurs in Wb 9^d24 *arna dich cách assa dligud*, 'lest every one should go out of his due state' (or 'duty').

The construction did not spread before the time of PH owing to the use of the copula forms which included the subject as *ba ri*, *bam ri*, etc. *Ba ri* became either *ba ri é* or *bói (sé) 'na righ*, in later Irish.

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¹ Cf. § 109, note 3, above.

LEBENS LAUF.

Ich, Tomás Ó Máille, Sohn des Landwirts Michael Ó Máille, wurde in Muintireoin, Maam, West Galway am 30 März 1882 geboren. Von 1899 bis 1902 erhielt ich Privatunterricht. Dann wurde ich an der Royal University of Ireland immatrikuliert, an welcher ich im Jahre 1905 als Baccalaureus Artis graduierte. Während des Jahres 1905-06 studierte ich am University College in Dublin, und besuchte die Vorlesungen an der School of Irish Learning ebendasselbst. Im October, 1906, bezog ich dann die Victoria University of Manchester, um dort unter Professor Strachan keltische Philologie zu studieren. Nach dem Tode des letzteren setzte ich meine unterbrochenen Studien bei Professor Kuno Meyer an der Universität Liverpool fort. Während der Sommersemester 1907 und 1908 besuchte ich die Grossherzoglich Albert-Ludwigs-Universität zu Freiburg i. Br. und im Wintersemester 1908-1909 die Königliche Universität zu Berlin. In Deutschland habe ich an den Vorlesungen der folgenden Herren Professoren und Dozenten teilgenommen.: Baist, Ebeling, Heusler, Holzmann, Rambeau, W. Schulze, Spies, Thurneysen, Wetz, Zimmer. Allen meinen Lehrern sowie dem Vorstande der School of Irish Learning, der mir den Aufenthalt im Auslande ermöglichte, spreche ich auch an dieser Stelle meinen aufrichtigen Dank aus.



